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House of Commons Debates.

FOURTH SESSION—EIGHTH PARLIAMENT.

SPEECH

N. F. DAVIN, M.P.

THE ADDRESS

OTTAWA, FRIDAY 24TH MARCH, 1899

Mr. NICHOLAS FLOOD DAVIN (West Assinibola). Mr. Speaker, although, Sir, apparently carrying out the ministerial rule, the Minister of Trade and Commerce (Sir Richard Cartwright) is not in his place, I am inclined to yield to his appeal to be one of those to shorten this debate as much as possible, because I think it desirable that as far as is consistent with the public interest, we should proceed quickly with the business of the House; and also because I like the hon. gentleman (Sir Richard Cartwright) although ever since 1887, when I had the temerity to cross swords with him in this Chamber, he has looked on me with hating eyes of scorn; a thing that I attribute to a misconception on his part because I have always thought that the reason the hon. gentleman (Sir Richard Cartwright) looked upon me with such an evil eye, was, that he supposed me to be a manufacturer—one of the robbers great and robbers small, who used to excite his ire, and who were so long ensconced in the branches of the Upas tree which was to be torn up, and whence they shot so severely at the people of Canada. But, Mr.

Speaker, there are reasons why it is impossible that any man true to his duty to the people of Canada; above all, any man true to his duty to the North-west Territories, should allow the debate on the Address on this occasion to go by without close and careful and stringent comment.

Let me call the attention of the House to His Excellency's Speech. It commences with an illusion to the fact that the country is prosperous. As has been well said, we all thank God for that. There is no doubt that heaven, and earth too, have had something to do with it. Then we are treated to a reference to the negotiations of the international commission which took place during the recess, and that is really the commencement of this Barmecidal bill of fare. We are treated in this banquet to which we are invited, in the first place to the cold soup of a consummate failure, and then we get for entrées, first the plebiscite—an outrage; an outrage from every point of view you regard it. I shall not go elaborately into that, but from whatever point of view you regard the plebiscite

having regard to the lately exposed policy of the Government, it is an outrage. One of the first and most prominent achievements of this Government was to inaugurate unconstitutional methods. You, Mr. Speaker, as a student of the British constitution know well that a plebiscite is contrary to that constitution of which we have a replica in Canada, and yet the first thing that was done by my right hon. friend (Sir Wilfrid Laurier), himself a student or a supposed student of our constitution, was to inaugurate the plebiscite. Well, what has happened? A quarter of a million dollars, which might have been spent most fruitfully in the North-west Territories for instance, in seeking for water in those parts of that fertile country where water has not been found, was spent—for what purpose? For the purpose of not having it forced on the Prime Minister of Canada to say a plain yes or no as to what was the policy of the Government on so important a question as prohibition. That is the first course.

Then we have the penny postage. I see the Hon. William—oh, I beg pardon. So historical has "I, William Mulock," become that I had nearly committed a breach of parliamentary etiquette and referred to him, not as my hon. friend from York, but in his character as the great stamp dictator—who will go down to history as that Postmaster General who was perpetually issuing stamps which he had perpetually to recall. That is the second course. Then we come to the pièce de resistance, which is the reference to the fact that there is gold in the Yukon; and because there is much gold in the Yukon, the inference is irresistible that my right hon. friend who leads the House is a great statesman, and that the Minister of the Interior (Mr. Sifton) is a heaven-born administrator; and the menu which commences with the cold soup of failure ends with the menace of an outrage. It ends with the menace that my right hon. friend intends to bring in at an unconstitutional period a redistribution Bill, for which he has no authority under the British North America Act.

That is the Queen's Speech. We will take the first course; is there anything for the farmer in the cold soup of a protracted failure? Is there anything for him in the entrees? Is there anything at all in this Barmecidal menu that can satisfy the farmer who is accustomed to nourishing, invigorating food? No; he has to fill himself with the east wind of a Queen's Speech such as has never been presented to Parliament before. Well, this is the fourth session of this Parliament. I may tell the head of the Government that a short time ago I travelled west with a leading supporter of his, a man well known in Ontario, a leading man in Waterloo, a man who has spent his money and his time, who has travelled here and there and fought on platform after platform—for what? For Liberalism, as he told me in tones of indignation—for the Liberal-

ism of George Brown, for tariff reform, for free trade, for a revenue tariff. He had fought for all these; and I said to him, "What do you do now?" He said, "I sit and howl." "Well," I said, "what are you going to do?" He said, "I am waiting for the coming session, and many a Liberal in Ontario is doing the same, and if in the coming session they do not redeem their promises, and do not show themselves true to Liberalism, then I will take the stump, and as I fought for them in the past, I will fight against them in the future."

Now, Sir, I will ask the attention of the House for a few moments to the constitutional aspect of the situation which we have now before us; for, Mr. Speaker, it is a most extraordinary situation. We have seen here since the House met the extraordinary spectacle of two or three Ministers of the Crown and their supporters rising and praising the policy of the Opposition. One man after another comes forward, and takes credit for some plank, some time-honoured plank in the platform of the Conservative party. This was especially the case with the speech of the Prime Minister and that of the Minister of Trade and Commerce. It is a spectacle which has rarely been manifested in this House, and it is a spectacle to which I want to call the attention of Parliament from a constitutional point of view. Now, Mr. Speaker, what is our constitution? We have in England a king or a queen; we have the House of Lords, and we have the House of Commons. We have in Canada the Governor General representing Her Majesty; we have a second chamber, the Senate; and we have the House of Commons. The House of Commons is the great power, because it controls the purse. And we have, as we say here, self-government. Now, suppose you were to take our constitution and transfer it to Cuba, would it work? Would it work in the Philippine Islands among the Filipinos? Everybody knows it would not work there—and why? For this reason, that the people of Cuba and the Filipinos, in their present state of development, are utterly unfit for this constitutional government which we enjoy in England and in all the self-governing colonies of the Empire. When you cast your eye over Europe, you find in Russia a strong government, but no individual liberty. In Germany you have a strong government and constitutional government, but individual liberty is greatly circumscribed. In France you have neither a strong government nor individual liberty. As for Italy or Spain, I will not refer to them. Only in England and in our self-governing colonies has this great problem been solved of uniting a strong executive with almost boundless individual liberty. Why is that? It is not because of our system of king, lords and commons, or of Governor General, a Senate and a House of Commons, with an extended franchise; but it is because the men in these countries—in

England, in Canada and the other self-governing colonies of the Empire—are trained in self-government. What enables us to have this admirable constitutional system, which does not exist and has never existed, in any country of the world outside of Great Britain and her colonies, is not the mechanical form of the constitution. It is not the wide suffrage; it is not the balanced system of king, lords and commons. It is because you have a people trained in self-government; in other words, because you have a community where organized public opinion is possible. How is that organized public opinion created and expressed? Sometimes in newspapers, sometimes in hotel parlours; sometimes in public meetings in school-houses; sometimes in vast public meetings in towns and cities; in the home; in the mart; at the fair; in the forum; at the street corner; in the blacksmith's forge; in the barber's shop; and especially is it shaped and expressed at those recurring periods when the Parliament of Canada, the Lower House, which is the great wheel in the mechanical part of our system, is remade, because its life is for five years, unless the Governor General should have some reason to end it before. What happens then? You have then throughout the entire country that immense wheel of organized public opinion going at full momentum, going at full power, in meeting after meeting. You have men going before their fellow-citizens—the one side saying: We have been in power so long, vote for us. Look at our policy, that policy has been successful; we have served you well, we have been economical, we have kept down the public debt, and, as far as was consistent with the progress of the country kept down the expenditure; we have, as far as in us lay, punished boodling and whatever went wrong; we have been a pure and clean Administration. But then comes another set of men, who say: Do not vote for them, but for us. Their policy is bad; they are extravagant; they have not kept down the debt; they have not kept down the expenses; they have been lavish in expenditure—vote for us; we will administer your affairs better, and, above all, we will change their policy. Is it not manifest to you, Mr. Speaker, and every man within my hearing, that that great wheel of organized public opinion is connected with the smaller wheel that sends the power on to the operative machinery, by what I call the belt of confidence between the public and public men? Destroy the confidence in the minds of the people that public men mean what they say, and will they go to the meetings? Would the meetings be anything but show, not a dumb, but a noisy show, without meaning? Would they listen for a moment to those public men unless they had some confidence in their professions? So that one or two things is required in order that our system shall work. First, you must have confidence in the public mind that public men will do

what they promise, or, failing to do it, that they will be held to a strict account and punished for their failure. Where shall we be if men can get into power and then turn round and laugh at the people, and laugh especially at the party with which they are connected, and which they have led?

Let me recall what happened here in this Dominion up to 1896. I need not go back further than 1893, when, in this very town, a vast concourse that might have swelled any man's heart with pride to look down upon, met to greet my hon. friend the leader of the great Liberal party (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). Those three thousand representatives met here, and what did they do? They formulated the policy of the great Liberal party. The right hon. gentleman himself pointed out that the policy formulated that day was a much more solemn thing than if he simply, by his ipse dixit, declared what would be the policy of that party. On that eventful day committees were struck, and in those committees resolutions were carefully drafted by the foremost men in the party, and then adopted by the whole meeting and sent broadcast throughout all Canada as the policy of the Liberal party.

Foremost, came the policy of tariff reform. Nay, not tariff reform, for tariff reform is my own phrase; it is what I contended for, it is what the men believing in the policy of the late Government called for, but what the Liberal party proposed was tariff revolution, not tariff reform. And my right hon. friend, in the speech he made, and which is published in the bound volume containing the official report of the proceedings of that meeting, and which speech I have carefully read, sometimes with admiration, sometimes with amazement, and sometimes with such feelings as it will be impossible to give expression to, said, in supporting the resolution with regard to the tariff, that he emphasized the determination expressed in that resolution—to do what? To touch the fringe of the subject, to touch only a leaf on the tree, to amend one little tiny infant twig protruding from a branch? No, but to uproot the Upas tree of protection; and I may tell you, Mr. Speaker, that it would have been salutary for him, if he could have seen the expression on the faces of Liberals when I read to them, as I have done throughout the length and breadth of the North-west some of those eloquent expressions of his with regard to the tariff, and which I deem it my duty to read to you now. In that eloquent speech, supporting the resolution for the destruction of the tariff, he said:

Apart from the logic of events, you have the word of Mr. Foster himself, who has declared again and again within the last few weeks, that tariff reform would consist in this—

I draw the attention of the House to what follows; for if some goblin imp had perched on the shoulder of the right hon. gentleman, if we could believe, as was believed in other days, that invisible creatures of the

goblin species influenced our minds, if some such goblin, fully determined to cynically show up human nature, had lit on the shoulder of the Prime Minister and prompted him, it could not have prompted words that would have painted him as he would be in the near future, in more disastrous colours of satirical contrast and consummate mockery.

That there might be a few changes here and there, but that the principle of the National Policy would be maintained. This simply means—

You can easily understand, Mr. Speaker, with what grace of gesture my right hon. friend, who is a master of rhetoric, used this language.

This simply means that the Government are going to scratch off the paint and put on a new coat of varnish and call it tariff reform.

Well, I may tell you that Liberal farmer after Liberal farmer, when I read that, laughed as if it were one of the best jokes ever made—"that they would scratch off the paint and put on a new coat of varnish and call it reform of the tariff." Why, these hon. gentlemen have not even scratched off the paint and put on a new coat of varnish. At one time my right hon. friend, in a fit of candour, which was a little inconsistent on his part, and I do not think he should break into the inconsistency of candour—said: I do not mind wearing the clothes of my opponents, if they fit me. He might just as well have said: I do not mind wearing the clothes of my opponents, if I steal them. But his colleagues go around the country and they say, not that they have scratched off the varnish and put on a new coat of paint, but that they have fulfilled all their promises. With a brazen effrontery such as there is no power of language to describe, they stand on the public platform before intelligent men and say: We have fulfilled our pledges. They put their arms akimbo, and, with the effrontery of a class of persons who are not usually clad, however, as the portion of humanity that we belong to, with the effrontery of a brazen scold, they assert that they have done what they have not done, and proclaim their title to a virtue which the whole world knows they have not. The National Policy, the right hon. gentleman said, must be got rid of entirely, and not merely the branches. After I had spoken at Regina and quoted some of these utterances, Liberals waited on me and asked me to allow them to see the speech of the right hon. gentleman from which I had made these quotations. They could not believe that the right hon. gentleman had used such language, and I showed them his speech, and drew their special attention to these words:

You know it has been the system of the Conservative party, more than once, whenever their clothes became dilapidated, to steal the clothes of their opponents and present themselves before the people decently attired.

This is what they want to do again, and on this occasion I do not object to their stealing our clothes,—

May I ask the right hon. gentleman's attention to these words:

—but I do object to their appearing before the country in false colours.

I can assure my right hon. friend that when I read that I cannot refrain from laughing.

They want to reform the tariff and still retain the principle of protection. I submit to you that the ideal fiscal system is the British system of free trade. Sir, my loyalty, as I stated, does not ooze from the pores of my body, but I do want to go for an example to the mother country and not to the United States, much as I respect and love the people on the other side of the line. I say that the policy should be a policy of free trade such as they have in England.

Now, the right hon. gentleman came west, and he was heralded by articles in the "Globe" which described him as the future saviour of Canada, because he would do away with protection. And, not content with this, there was a picture which represented my right hon. friend as the good Samaritan bending over the North-west farmer and pouring into his open wounds the oil of revenue tariff and into his gaping and gasping mouth the wine of free trade as it is in England. Well, if any of that oil reached a wound of that prostrate North-west farmer, I do not think it would be enough to lubricate the spring of the smallest Geneva watch that ever ticked, and if any of the wine of free trade as it is in England touched his gullet, I do not think it was enough to disturb the cerebral equilibrium of the smallest and youngest chipmunk on the prairie.

Well, he came to Moosomin and at Moosomin he was accompanied by the hon. Minister of Agriculture (Mr. Fisher), who, rumour tells us, has resigned in consequence of the tergiversation of the Government on the plebiscite question.

Mr. SAM. HUGHES (North Victoria). Has he resigned?

Mr. DAVIN. I am told that the Minister of Agriculture, disgusted with the policy of the Government on the plebiscite, has resigned. But he may possibly come back. Now, Sir, he declared at Moosomin that 20 per cent on implements was an outrage. And he said: If we get in it will be taken off. The words I read here last session when I interrupted the Minister of Customs (Mr. Paterson). He said the people of the North-west and Manitoba have had to pay through the nose, this 20 per cent amounting to a considerable sum—I think it was about \$14,000. Now, what would the North-west farmer who heard that or who read it think? Would he not think that if these gentlemen came into power there would be relief as to that 20 per cent on larger implements? But the 20 per cent is there to-day. Would he not think there would be re-

hief in regard to the smaller implements? Why, Sir, there is a higher duty on these smaller implements than that fixed by Sir Leonard Tilley's tariff in 1879, which the late Mr. Mackenzie declared to be prohibitory, and the present Minister of Trade and Commerce characterized as an outrage.

A pamphlet has been distributed throughout the North-west Territories and Manitoba, and I have no doubt it has been distributed throughout Ontario as well. That pamphlet contains the speeches of Hon. W. S. Fielding, Hon. Sir Richard Cartwright, and Hon. Wm. Paterson. By referring to pages 52, 53, 54 and 55 of that pamphlet, you see that the hon. Minister of Customs (Mr. Paterson) gives a list of articles in regard to which he suggests that the preferential tariff gives an advantage to the people of the country and especially to the farmers. When that speech was being delivered, I did not understand the object of it. If you will turn to "Hansard" you will find that I suggested that hardly any of these articles came from England, and so were not affected by the preference. Of course, such a representation as that made by the hon. Minister could not deceive us here, because all we had to do was to send for the Trade and Navigation Returns—I have them here—and by consulting these we could see at once that the figures in that tabulated statement were delusive. If I were speaking elsewhere, I would use stronger language than that. Now, let me call attention to what is stated in this speech, and let me bring before you and before this House the enormity of the conduct of a man in the position of the Minister of Customs in perpetrating such an outrage on the people of Canada, and especially on the farming community as is to be found in this speech. I know now why this speech was made. We could see through it, it did not deceive us; but the poor people in the country, who would only see this pamphlet and would not have the Trade and Navigation Returns before them to expose the fraud would not know the character of the trick that was being played upon them. Now, this is what the hon. gentleman says:

Every one of these articles is an absolute necessity, and is used by every agriculturist in the country in his house or on his farm. Among the articles I ask attention to is a long list of agricultural implements over and above that which I have read, and I ask attention to the reductions as answering the question whether the Government has carried out its pledges to reduce the duty on agricultural implements and to reduce the burdens resting upon the farmer. The list of articles, with the new rate under the preferential duties and the percentage of reduction from the old rates is as follows:

Now, if any farmer who has this book in his possession will turn to page 53, he will find one of the first items on the list to be springs and axles. What has the free trade revenue tariff done for the farmer in regard to springs and axles? Or what has the right hon. gentleman done who was heralded by

the "Globe" to the North-west farmer as the good Samaritan? Nay, more, there was a companion picture which represented the North-west farmer lying manacled, with gyves on his wrists and chains on his ankles, and on these links was written "30 per cent, 25 per cent, 22½ per cent on cottons," and showed the benevolent Prime Minister bending over and filing off the links. I am afraid that file belonged to goods of the wooden nutmeg order. I do not think it could make much impression on the chains, for, the chains are there still.

Now springs and axles—what do you think has been done? Why, every farmer in the country will throw up his cap the moment the name, the sacred name, of Wilfrid Laurier is heard; he will throw up his cap and cry: What wonders have been accomplished by this great and good man! What were springs and axles under the old tariff? As is seen in the first column, on page 53 of this pamphlet, 38 per cent. But what reduction? 5 per cent; down to 33 per cent. \$35 in the hundred, the revenue tariff of free trade as it is in England, that wine of free trade that was poured copiously down the throat of the poor North-west farmer! Somebody says: But look at the preference that is given to the English manufactured goods in our market, and see what that will do. But the poor farmer who reads that extraordinary and outrageous sentence introducing these columns, the poor farmer who has not the Trade and Navigation Returns which are now in my hand, and which I ask any hon. gentlemen opposite to turn up and look over—he does not know that we do not get springs and axles from England at all, that they all come from the United States, and that we could not get them in the nature of the case, from England, because the springs and axles they make in England would not suit the carriages and wagons we have here. So that here you have it held out to the farmer that he gets springs and axles at 26½ per cent. Suppose he did get them at 26½ per cent, is not that a high percentage? From the place where the hon. gentleman who leads this Opposition sits, in 1879 Mr. Alexander Mackenzie declared that 25 per cent was prohibitive. And, Sir Richard Cartwright declared that 25 per cent was an outrage. And here you have held up to the farmer that 26½ per cent is a panacea for all his ills, a great boon, something that he ought to honour the Liberal leaders for. But here is the outrage, here is the painful thing about that. I could hardly tell you with what pain, as a member of this House, I find myself called on to refer to it. The painful thing is that even that statement of 26½ per cent is a fraud. Now, Sir, we take some other things. Take files and rasps. The farmer needs them. What are they under the present tariff? 30 per cent; the great bulk comes from the United States. Adzes, 30 per cent; cleavers, 30 per cent; hatchets, 30 per cent; saws, 30 per cent; wedges, 30 per cent;

hazamers, 30 per cent; crowbars, 30 per cent; picks, 30 per cent; mattocks, 30 per cent. Well, Sir, there is a preference, but when you look at these Trade and Navigation Returns on which my hand now rests, and which are open to the inspection of anybody over there you will find that no advantage under that preference comes to the farmer. Mr. Speaker, I want your special attention to this. When, Sir, you used to sit a little behind where my hon. friend the member for York (Mr. Wallace) sits to-day, I remember that you made a most elaborate speech upon cotton, and you showed to this House and to the country what an outrage it was that there should be the high duty imposed by a Tory Government. Now, I want to show you this, because I think that it might even impart a sense of liveliness to the somewhat monotonous position you occupy. On page 54—I will assume that you have the pamphlet in your hand and can turn to it—you will find cotton fabrics unbleached, under the first or Tory column, 22½ per cent. Now, what great thing has been done for the farmer? I want the House to understand what has been done. It has been sent down at a run from 22½ to 25 per cent! Marvellous! Why, Sir, we should have three cheers with a tiger for the Liberal leaders, they are so loyal to Liberalism. Then there is the preference. But what is the use of the preference? The great bulk of unbleached cotton comes from the United States, and only 217,159 yards from England. Here are the Trade and Navigation Returns that show the monstrous character of this work of my hon. friend the Minister of Customs—and I am glad to see that he is in his place. I suppose he has been sent for. He has been straying away from school, and has been sent for. I wish the Prime Minister would discipline all his Ministers, because ever since the meeting of this House the members of the Government have done what Mr. Wade and Mr. McGregor did in the Yukon: The moment Mr. Ogilvie was sent up there as commissioner, the two great criminals fled. And when we are here now trying the foremost political criminals on this continent, they disappear from the dock. Now we come to coloured fabrics. The Minister of Customs could have done something for us there. The farmer's wife, the farmer's daughter, the young ladies in towns, wear coloured cotton fabrics. And, Mr. Speaker, I do not know that there is anything pleasanter than to see a young lady well and properly attired in a coloured cotton fabric. Something could have been done there, and I will tell you why. Out of 34 million yards of coloured cottons that were imported into this country, 24 million yards came from England, so that some three-fourths come from England. Something could have been done there. What was done? But it was not the Minister of Customs who did this, it was my hon. friend the Minister of Finance who did this. What does the gallant Min-

ister of Finance do, who, I am told, used to be—in a thoroughly drawing room way, of course—in those years that have passed away for both of us, a squire of dames? We should have expected something gallant from him, and what does he do for the young ladies? What does he do for the fairer portion of creation? Well, he saw that the preference was coming into play, that 24 millions yards were imported from England out of the 34 millions, and that the manufacturer might possibly be hit, the manufacturer that you, Sir, proved from your place in Parliament to be such a robber, that cotton manufacturer who you proved was sweating the money out of the people. When the Minister of Finance saw what this poor manufacturer would suffer, it went to his heart. He looked at the old Tory tariff, which was 30 per cent. Why, 30 per cent is very high, it is 5 per cent higher than what Alexander Mackenzie said was prohibitory in 1879. But his heart falls him for the sufferings of the poor manufacturer, and thereupon he says: Before that preference comes into play, we will put on 5 per cent. And so this revenue-tariff Minister, this free-trade Minister, sends it down at a run from 30 to 35 per cent! Shenstone says, speaking of some one in his day:

He kicked him down stairs with such a sweet grace,
You might have thought he was handing him up.

These gentlemen opposite have kicked the manufacturer down in such a pleasant manner that the manufacturer finds himself, after having been kicked down stairs, as my hon. friend the member for Centre Toronto (Mr. Bertram) declares, in the drawing room, in the best room on the first floor. The member for Centre Toronto is a distinguished ornament of the band made up of "robbers great and robbers small" who were to be kicked down stairs, but who are up on the first floor, in the best room and as for my hon. friend (Mr. Bertram) why he is in the best arm-chair. It is a delightful spectacle. I remember my late lamented leader, the Right Hon. Sir John Macdonald, used to tell a story which, I suppose, without infringing on the dignity of this House, I may be permitted to relate. It was that of a Cheap John at a fair selling slices of bread and butter, which were quickly disposed of and so deftly that a man in the crowd cried out: "First he butters them up and then he slithers them down." That is the way the Government is treating the manufacturers; first, they butter them up, and then they slither them down, and they do not feel it. Well, Sir, take curtains which, now that our farmers are prosperous—and I may tell you that I am glad to bear my testimony here to the prosperity of the North-west—are important to our people. The North-west is prosperous like the rest of Canada. The farmer's wife wants curtains; curtains are 35 per cent—under the old tariff they were 30 per cent. They have sent them down from

30 to 35 per cent! Is that not magnificent as a free trade tariff? Is it not magnificent as a revenue tariff,—the wine of free trade as it is in England, the oil of joy of revenue tariff! Well, take handkerchiefs; every polite person needs handkerchiefs, and the preference would undoubtedly have done us good in England, because we get many of our handkerchiefs there. Lest the Government should hit the poor manufacturer too hard they sent the duty down from 30 to 35 per cent. We come then to woollens. Now, here in this country, but especially in the North-west, semi-arctic as we acknowledge it is, we ought to expect some consideration. Many persons outside think that a climate of the North-west is severe, but no man has ever lived there for a short time without feeling that there is no climate in the world so stimulating, so delightful, so that even when the glass is low you do not feel cold. But we must wear woollens there, and there is no doubt whatever that the preference on English goods would have helped the farmer. But what does the Finance Minister do? Before that hammer of the 25 per cent preference goes down on the manufacturer, the Finance Minister in his pity for the poor fellow, sends it up from 30 to 35 per cent! Under the old tariff of 1894-95 it was 30 per cent, but they sent it up by the tariff for revenue, the free-trade-as-it-is-in-England tariff to 35 per cent. Take tweeds and flannels. These were sent down at a run from 32½ per cent to 35 per cent; carpets, from 30 per cent to 35 per cent; umbrellas, 35 per cent, and so on. Well now, Sir, do you not think, Mr. Speaker, that it requires some audacity for any man to stand upon the platform and say that these gentlemen who are now in power and who call themselves the leaders of the Liberal party have fulfilled their pledges in regard to the tariff, or that they have been true to the principles of the Liberal party? Where is the Liberal party? Mr. Speaker, no man knows more about the Liberal party than you do. Sir, you were to my knowledge the trusted and bosom friend of the late Hon. George Brown, and you were to my knowledge the trusted and bosom friend of the late Hon. Alexander Mackenzie; no man should know more about the principles of the Liberal party than yourself. And, Sir, I think it will be in your conscience when I say here that in the face of the promises we have heard, and which I have read, in the face of the resolutions passed in 1893, in the face of the well-known principles that the Liberal party enunciated for eighteen years while the Liberal-Conservative party was in power, in the face of the well-known principles of the Liberal party for the last thirty years, these gentlemen who are now in power are not the leaders of that party. There must be amongst the Liberals in this House some who are not office seekers.

An hon. MEMBER. There are none.

Mr. DAVIN. That is candid; I am very glad to hear the authoritative statement from a leading member of the Liberal party that there are none who are not office seekers. At any rate there are men outside of this House who are not office seekers; there are Liberals outside of this House who have a career of their own in commerce, on the farm; the yeomen of Canada, the merchants of Canada, the professional men of Canada, the tradesmen of Canada, who are not office seekers. And if there is no liberalism left in this Chamber to which I can appeal, and perhaps there is not, then I appeal to the liberalism outside of this House. Who is that gentleman on the other side who said that there are no Liberals on that side who were not office seekers? I see before me the hon. member for Lisgar (Mr. Richardson), and he is one of those who have risen in revolt in the west against the Minister of the Interior. He is one of the men who have revolted against the incompetence and against the most objectionable character of the administration of the affairs of the country so far as they come under the control of the Minister of the Interior. I can well appeal to him, therefore, if there is no other vestige of the old liberalism in the House. But I can with confidence appeal to the liberalism of Canada which I know to be made up of as patriotic and as true men as can be found in any part of the world. Where is their party? Mr. Speaker, you are yourself a man of imagination, and you could picture this: Suppose the shades of the late Hon. George Brown and the late Hon. Alexander Mackenzie were to march in here; suppose they came down—or up—I do not know—I assume it too readily it was down, but wherever they are, suppose they heard something of the politics of the country and learned that their party was in power. Imagine Mr. Brown and Mr. Mackenzie appearing in the House. Suppose we saw Mr. Brown putting to his ghostly eyes, a pair of spectacles. He would recognize the Prime Minister at once; I have no doubt he would make some very familiar remarks and he would ask: "Who is that behind him, Mackenzie? Is not that Tarte?" Mackenzie, with ghostly fingers, scratching a ghostly head, would say: "I believe, George, it is." "But was not he a Tory? And then who is that over there? Is that not Blair?"—referring to the hon. Minister of Railways—"Used not Blair be a Tory?" And he would reply "Why of course he was." And then George Brown would ask: "Who is that highly intellectual man in one of the back Ministerial benches; is that the son-in-law of my enemy Sir David Macpherson?" "Why certainly it is," and George Brown would hesitate and stammer as George Brown's manner was and he would ask in astonishment: "Is it a coalition government? have you heard anything of that, Mackenzie?" And Mackenzie would answer:

"No, George, I have heard the first you mentioned is the Minister of Public Works." "Minister of Public Works, mon; make that mon Minister of Public Works! the great spending department; why, mon, he used be the worst element in the Tory party." And then George Brown would ask: "Is this a Liberal Government with three Tories in it;" and pointing his eyeglasses at the Minister of Finance, he would say: "Is that not our old friend the Premier of Nova Scotia; why, mon, he used be a secessionist," and Mackenzie would reply: "why of course he used," and Brown would sigh: "what an extraordinary conglomeration my poor friend Laurier has under him." But Mackenzie would say to him: "George, the worst thing is that I am told the Minister of Public Works controls our friend who leads the Ministerial ranks," and George Brown would be shocked and indignant, would laugh with scorn and shake his gaunt sides over the pass inferior hands had brought the party to, that party which he led so long on genuine Liberal lines.

To come from the ghostly to the concrete, what strikes the Liberals of Canada to-day is: where is Liberalism? We have the evidence of the member for Lisgar (Mr. Richardson) on that point. The Minister of the Interior (Mr. Sifton) went to Perth recently and made a speech (of which I have a verbatim report here) in which he said: If our opponents were to come in they would not change the tariff to-day; it is a dead issue. And in reference to that, what occurred in the hearing of the member for Lisgar the other day at Regina? There was a Mr. J. G. Grant speaking there, and Mr. John Dougan interrupted him and said: "Have you seen what Mr. Sifton said at Perth that the tariff was a dead issue." Do you know what this gentleman replied, and he dare not reply anything else in the capital of the Territories? This gentleman, Mr. Grant is an aspirant; he sought to run against me at the last election, and he replied to Mr. Dougan: If Mr. Sifton said it—and there is no "if" about it because I have a verbatim report of the speech here—if Mr. Sifton said the tariff was a dead issue, then all I have to say is, that I do not agree with Mr. Sifton. And my friend from Lisgar (Mr. Richardson) declared at that meeting that things had come to this pass—I now quote from memory but I have his words here, things had come to this pass, that he would say that any Liberal who said you should support the Liberal Government the whole time, was what he would call a "yellow dog" Liberal.

Mr. R. L. RICHARDSON (Lisgar). Mr. Speaker, I beg to state that I did not say anything of the kind.

Mr. DAVIN. Oh, you did not say anything of the kind.

Mr. RICHARDSON. What I said was that a man who voted for the Conservative party once when it was right and twice when it was wrong, was called in Winnipeg a yellow dog Tory; and I added: That the man who voted for the Liberal party once when it was right and twice when it was wrong, should properly be called a yellow dog Liberal.

Mr. DAVIN. Well, I will accept that. I have the words of the hon. gentleman here and I think it comes to the same thing and I do not think my hon. friend (Mr. Richardson) was right in stating that he said nothing of the kind. I will read his words reported in his own paper. They are as follows:—

There is a good deal of nonsense talked about Liberalism and Conservatism. The Conservative who voted once for his party when it was right and twice when it was wrong was in Manitoba called a yellow dog Conservative. The Liberal who would vote for his party once when it was right and twice when it was wrong should properly be characterized as a yellow dog, for what was wrong in a Conservative could not by any stretch be made right in a Liberal.

And that remark was applauded. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Richardson) knows very well, because he was present, that when Mr. Grant was praising the Liberal party—the Liberal "leaders;" because I distinguish between the Liberal "leaders" and the Liberal "party," and mind you the Liberal party in the country is distinguishing between them. There is no connection any longer between the Liberal leaders and the Liberal party, except the connection there is between betrayer and the betrayed. When Mr. Grant was saying that the Liberal leaders had fulfilled their pledges, my friend John Dougan interrupted and called attention to what Mr. Sifton said at Perth; that the tariff was a dead issue, and Mr. Grant had to say, for he dare not say anything else: then if Mr. Sifton said the tariff was a dead issue I do not agree with Mr. Sifton.

The hon. member for Centre Toronto (Mr. Bertram) is here, and he declared that the tariff should not be changed for the next ten years. He is quite satisfied with the tariff, as he well might be. You remember that the other day in Manila, the Americans did not know whence they were being shot at, and it turned out that some of the Filipinos were hidden away in the leafy branches of the trees and were popping at them. Now, the people of Canada, and especially the people of the North-west, feel very much like the Americans did. They look around and they discover that the manufacturers are shooting at them, firmly and comfortably ensconced in the umbrageous branches of the Upas tree to which I have already referred. And men like my friend from Toronto (Mr. Bertram)—

Mr. BENNETT (East Simcoe). And Leeds and Grenville (Mr. Frost) too.

Mr. DAVIN. Leeds and Grenville, yes. Oh, I forgot the brother in manufacturing implements of Messey-Harris. He travels around with the young Napoleon and he tells audience after audience that he is delighted with the tariff. Why should he not? The Postmaster General (Mr. Mulock) at a banquet that was given to Mr. Hardy declared that the tariff should remain as it was, and he said in his own somewhat gruff way: Some people say that it is a bad tariff, but I tell them there is a worse tariff, and that is an uncertain one; people should pay their taxes. So with a wave of his hirsute hand, he bids them begone; tells the grumbling farmer who holds up before him what was said in the "Farmers' Sun," (a paper that the Postmaster General subsidized)—the farmer holds that up before him and the Postmaster General turns round and says: Begone, I am not going to say one word to get the promises of the Government fulfilled; they fulfilled my end; they got you to vote for us, and that is all I want. Something still more extraordinary occurred at that banquet. I think I have it here. I am going to frame it, Sir, because it was one of the most extraordinary things that have ever happened in the history of public life in Canada. There was another gentleman at that banquet—that same young Napoleon who is not now in his place, who seldom is in his place. He made a speech there, and of course it was heralded as a great speech. Every speech the young Napoleon makes, Mr. Speaker, is a great speech. We have in Winnipeg, a paper which heads in big letters, every speech made by this young Napoleon: "Great speech by the Minister of Interior."

Mr. BENNETT. What paper is that?

Mr. DAVIN. The Winnipeg "Free Press."

Mr. BENNETT. Is that the Canadian Pacific Railway paper?

Mr. DAVIN. No, it is the paper of the Minister of the Interior; and another paper in Winnipeg has asked the same question in regard to this paper that has been asked in regard to "La Patrie;" where did this Minister—who at a period before he became a Minister of the Crown could not pay his indebtedness to the city of Winnipeg—where did he get money to buy an organ for \$80,000? Did it come from the same source that supplied the coin to buy "La Patrie" for the two promising youths who rejoice in the name of Tarte? Well, Sir, this great young man, whose career during the short time he has been a Minister has been characterized by such a series of blunders as have not distinguished a single other department

of my right hon. friend's Government—and that is saying a great deal—

Mr. BENNETT. You have forgotten the postage stamps.

Mr. DAVIN. The postage stamps pale into insignificance compared with the blunders of the Department of the Interior. He was at that banquet, and of course his great speech was published at length in the "Globe" of November 16th. As a member of this House I think I have some reason, on behalf of my hon. friend the Minister of the Interior, to complain of the "Globe" because it presented him with a picture of himself. I do not say that my hon. friend is a walking Apollo; but I will say that at his worst he does not look so like a criminal at large as that picture makes him.

Mr. BENNETT. That was the morning after the banquet.

Mr. DAVIN. My hon. friend says that was the morning after the banquet; but although my hon. friend the Minister of the Interior has back-slidden so far as to tolerate the sound of the clanging fiddle and the hilarious pipe, and to indulge in terpsichorean gyrations, I do not think he has back-slidden to the extent of taking champagne. I do not think he has gone further than the greatest teetotalers will do—taking Roman punch at the middle of the meal. Well, here is the speech; and, speaking about the tariff, this is what the Minister of the Interior says:

We have, therefore, succeeded in bringing about a revision of the tariff, which has afforded much needed relief—

To whom? To the North-west farmer, over whom my right hon. friend bent with sympathy, and mingled tears with tears? To the shopkeeper and the tradesman? To the artisan and the housewife? Let me read to you the words, and I call the attention of my hon. friend from Lisgar (Mr. Richardson) to them. It is incredible. I will hand the paper to any Liberal who comes over here. I do not suppose any Liberal would doubt my word, but this is almost incredible, and I would like them to look at it. I call the attention of the hon. member for Centre Toronto to it. If he had the least doubt that the machinations of himself and his brother manufacturers would be endorsed and carried out to the utmost by this Government, that doubt may now disappear. Here is what the Minister of the Interior, the farmers' member in the Cabinet, the member in the Cabinet for the North-west Territories, says. The words should be printed and hung up in every farmer's cottage, in every shack, in every home on the prairie, in every artisan's house in the country. They should be hung up in order that the people may see in them the character of this Government. This is what he says:

We have, therefore, succeeded in bringing about a revision of the tariff, which afforded much needed relief to the manufacturers of this country.

The poor manufacturers! Why, Sir, I thought they were the robbers great and the robbers small who were piling up millions of dollars at the expense of the people of the country. I thought they were bleeding the farmer white by reason of the tariff which the Finance Minister did not think high enough, and so, where it was 25 per cent he put it up to 30 per cent, and where it was 30 per cent he put it up to 35 per cent. I thought that was the character of the manufacturers. But it seems they needed relief. My right hon. friend, in this tariff matter, reminds me of a Yankee who made a bet with an obese fat man that he would swallow him. The bet was taken, and the Yankee said, "Lie down on that table." The fat man lay down, whereupon the Yankee knelt at the end of the table, and began to bite his big toe. The fat man cried out, "Hold on, you are hurting me." Of course I am," said the Yankee, "do you suppose I can swallow you whole?" The Prime Minister and the Minister of the Interior have not even bit at the big toe of the manufacturers; for, instead of the manufacturers crying out, they sing hymns in honour of the great leader of the Liberal party, and you have the hon. member for Leeds and Grenville (Mr. F. T. Frost), the implement manufacturer, going around with the Minister of the Interior and telling the people the tariff is what they want, and you have the hon. member for Centre Toronto declaring how happy he is.

Now, I want to say something about this tariff and the conduct of the Government in regard to it, because if the people of Canada could look calmly on the terrible outrage on public faith of which the present Government is the embodiment, then I would despair of the future of my country. I have here in my hand the "Farmers' Sun" for October 24, 1894, at which time it was subsidized by the present Postmaster General, and in it I find a letter signed "Richard Cartwright."

You will remember, that some time before that the Patron organization was formed. I do not know whether there is a Patron now remaining in the House. They are all changed. I see a gentleman that was elected partly as a Patron, but who puts himself down, however, in the "Parliamentary Companion" as a Liberal—my hon. friend from East Assiniboia (Mr. Douglas).

Here is a letter, dated the 1st October, which appeared in the "Farmers' Sun" on October 24th, written by the present Minister of Trade and Commerce, and in that letter he says, addressing his friends in the Patron ranks:

I know, no man better, how utterly fatal any protective system must be to liberty and to honest and economical government; and it was the profound conviction of this fact, quite as much

as any belief in the material injury it was certain to work to the chief interests of Canada (as I pointed out in my Budget Speech of 1876, and have done continuously ever since), which induced Mr. Mackenzie and myself and our colleagues to set our faces determinedly against the introduction of that most pernicious system here.

He goes on to add:

Nevertheless, I feel that there is great danger of their—

That is, the Patrons—

—making a very grave mistake at this juncture. The foes of liberty and good government are a very powerful body in Canada to-day. They are strongly entrenched and very highly organized indeed. Protection has many roots. It has a full treasury and a great hold on a large part of the press of this country. It holds the reins of Government, and it has a very large proportion of the active wealth of the Dominion on its side. You may be sure it will die hard here as well as in the United States. Now, this being so, for the opponents of such a foe to quarrel with each other on the very eve of a pitched battle against the common enemy is, as the French statesman said, even worse than a crime—it would be an irreparable and unforgivable blunder.

The man who wrote that is now a member of the Government, who wished to obtain the aid of the Patrons in overcoming their common enemy; but to-day he has linked arms with the one robber, and the Prime Minister has linked arms on the other side with the other robber. Whether he has linked arms with the robber great, and the First Minister with the robber small, I do not know. Later on in that letter, he said:

Then the Patrons desire to reform the tariff and to improve the system of taxation. Good again. By all means let us do so. This is the very cardinal plank in the Liberal platform, and has been so ever since 1878, as the records of Parliament testify most abundantly. The Patrons asked that the interests of the farmers be fairly considered. Was it not solely and simply because the Mackenzie Government would not agree to deliver over the farmers, bound hand and foot, to the tender mercies of the ring of would-be protective manufacturers that Mr. Mackenzie was defeated in 1878?

And the man who wrote that is now a member of the Government that keeps the farmers bound hand and foot to the tender mercies of that ring. He continued:

Let me ask, too, by whose votes was Mr. Mackenzie defeated then? I do not say it as a reproach, but it is a matter of history, that Mr. Mackenzie was defeated by the votes of the Liberal farmers, who were cajoled by the false promises of home markets, high prices and general prosperity held out by the reckless and ignorant charlatans who foisted this precious protective system on Canada in 1878.

But, Mr. Speaker, we have substantially the same tariff to-day; and if those gentlemen who in 1878 inaugurated the National Policy, were ignorant charlatans, the hon. Minister of Trade and Commerce (Sir Richard Cartwright) cannot be characterized other-

wise than as a conscious criminal. Further on in that letter he continues :

What are the other planks of the Patron platform affecting Dominion politics ?

If there be a Patron here, let him hear. If there is a Liberal here, let him hear. If there is a man who believes in common honesty in public life, let him hear these words written by the Minister of Trade and Commerce (Sir Richard Cartwright) on that occasion to the Patrons :

What are the other planks of the Patron platform affecting Dominion politics ? They are these : 1. Economy of administration. 2. Purity and independence of Parliament. 3. Tariff for revenue only. 4. Reciprocal trade. 5. Protection from labour monopolies. 6. No railway bonuses. 8. No gerrymandering—

Mark this, Mr. Speaker :

—No gerrymandering. 9. Lands for settlers.

If the hon. Minister of the Interior (Mr. Sifton) were here, I would ask him to listen to that.

Now, there is no single one of all these objects which the Liberal party have not been fighting for, moving resolutions for, and doing their very best to obtain any time during the last twenty years. Look at the records of Parliament. Look especially at the several motions on the Budget. Look at their platform, and at the very last resolution moved by myself in Parliament, and you will see that as regards Dominion politics there is evidently no ground of bitterness between the Patrons and the Liberal party.

Is not that holding out to the Patrons the promise : Put us into power, and we will carry out your planks and make them the laws of Canada ?

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER (Picton). But there must be an implied condition.

Mr. DAVIN. I do not think there is implied condition here. No, the hon. gentleman holds it out categorically. If there be a condition it is : Put us into power, and we will carry out your planks. What is the Liberal party to do with such a leader ? What are the Patrons to think of such a Government ? Was there ever such a deception practised as has been practised on the Patrons by this Government ? Further on, he adds :

Tariff for revenue only and taxes on luxuries and not on the necessities, reciprocity and reservation of the lands for the actual settlers are things the Liberals, collectively and individually, have always advocated, nor is there any political single argument which has ever been advanced in favour of all these things, either by the Patrons or anybody else, which has not been previously and most generously said many times over by the Liberal members of Parliament and out of it.

The hon. gentleman then emphasized his offer of association with the Patrons :

You see, as I have said, that the objects of both organisations are absolutely identical. The Liberal party, for fifteen years and more, have been fighting at heavy odds for the very objects

the Patrons professed to desire. The Liberal party lost office rather than forsake these principles.

And they are keeping office now, rather than carry them out.

The Liberal party might have long since regained office if they would have betrayed them, and yet we find certain Patrons continually declaring that both parties are alike, and advising their friends to make no distinction between a Liberal and a protectionist candidate.

Again, he adds :

We will do well to remember that, after all, Ontario is not the whole of this Dominion, and that under certain conditions—

Then he goes on to suggest the fear to the Patrons, that if they do not take care, there may be a coalition between the Liberals and the Conservatives, and where, then, would be the Patrons :

Now, you will bear in mind that I am very far from stating such a condition would be justifiable or desirable. My point is, and it cannot be brought too clearly before the minds of all those Patrons who desire to promote the real welfare of their country, and who, I make no doubt, constitute the vast majority of the order, that such a move would be always on the cards in the event of such proceedings on the part of the Patrons as I have indicated.

Later on, he said :

I, for my part, would be sorry to see the issue dwindle down to a mere question of revenue tariff.

This is a good thing in its way, but very much more than this is needed now, and very much more than this can be got, if only our chances are not recklessly thrown away. We need, among other things, a radical readjustment, not only of our tariff, but of our whole system of taxation.

Mark that, Mr. Speaker, because I shall have to refer to it later on.

Great evil has been done, but out of evil good may come, and the colossal villainy of the protective system may be made to pave the way for so thorough a reform that it may prove possible for the first time in the history of Canada so to distribute the pressure of taxation that every man shall be compelled to contribute to the public needs according to his means and not according to pleasure.

The man who wrote this is in a Government that maintains a protective tariff and that has put a cent a pound on sugar.

I have no intention, and, indeed, no desire, to see your organization put at the disposal of even the Liberal party. Let them remain distinct but friendly. This is pre-eminently a case for mutual concession. Both Patrons and Liberals profess to have the same ends in view. Let them meet and adjust their difficulties—differences of principles there are none.

No differences of principle, Mr. Speaker. Why with that letter on record, the Minister of Trade and Commerce in a Government that supports what he calls the villainy of a protective system, we have, as I say, one of the most immoral spectacles ever witnessed in

any country. I am not done with this question. It is one that comes home closely to the people of the North-west Territories. We up there have been shamefully deceived, shamefully betrayed. In fact, if you will turn to copies of that very paper from which I have been reading, issued after the Minister of Finance had declared his policy, you will find that that paper, which had been attacking the Conservative party and Conservative policy, declared that the farmers of Canada had been betrayed by the Liberal Government. I wish to deal still further with this question, and, as it were, to drive home the nail. If you will turn to the Liberal campaign sheet issued during the election of 1896, you will find that more is said about the tariff even than was said at the great meeting of Liberals that took place in 1893. You have there in detail a comparison which shows the enormous fortunes that were being made out of the farmer by the protected manufacturers. Therefore, not only in the speeches of my right hon. friend the Prime Minister, not only in the speeches of his colleagues, not only at that convention of 1893, but in the campaign sheet it was still more emphasized, that if these gentlemen got into power, we should have such a radical revision of the tariff, that every vestige of protection would disappear. I need hardly say how completely we have been betrayed. I have in my hand the tariff, and, as I turn over page after page, as I am doing now, I find that every page teems with rates of duty of 30 and 35 per cent, page after page, 30 and 35 per cent—the whole tariff pockmarked with 30 and 35 per cent. This is the Liberal free-trade revenue tariff!

Now, Sir, clearly, they have not fulfilled their pledges with regard to the tariff. Have they fulfilled their pledges with regard to expenditure? They said that the expenditure was excessive. The hon. member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton), a distinguished member of the commission which has failed, said eight years ago that the country could be run for \$5,000,000 less than it was being run for. Another gentleman, the present Minister of Justice, declared that the country could be run for \$4,000,000 less. My right hon. friend the Premier would not go so far. In his speech in Toronto, in 1896, he said, that they might not be able to run the country for \$5,000,000 or \$4,000,000 less, but he declared, that it could be run for \$3,000,000 less. They have come into power, and what has happened? The first year they were in power they spent \$1,400,000 more than the old Government had spent in its last year, and considerably more than the average of the old Government's expenditure from 1887 to 1896. Taking the old Government's expenditure of \$36,949,000 as the standard of comparison, we find that in the first year they spent \$1,400,000 more; in the year after that, \$1,800,000 more, and this year, over \$1,900,000 more. So that in the first year tak-

ing the \$3,000,000 less which they said they would expend, and the \$1,400,000 more which they did expend, we find them to be \$4,400,000 worse than they promised; in the next year, \$4,800,000 worse, and in the present year, \$4,900,000 worse.

Then, what about the debt? They declared that the debt was too high, and that they would reduce it. But, as a matter of fact, during the first year they sent up the debt about three and a half millions more than it was under the old Government; and the next year, about four millions, making in the two years an addition to the debt of about seven and a half millions. This year, they are away out of sight. And yet, in the Public Accounts issued by the Finance Minister, we read that the receipts on account of Consolidated Fund for the year were \$40,555,238, and the expenditure \$38,832,526, showing a surplus of \$1,722,712. Now, is it not a very extraordinary thing, that when the Minister of Finance shows that he has a surplus of about a million and three-quarters, he has a man in London trying to borrow two millions and a half? Is this not on a par with their candour with regard to the tariff? What is the explanation? The people outside, when they read the statements of the Finance Minister, as published in the newspapers, are not aware of the way in which the hon. Minister keeps his accounts. He keeps his accounts in this way: He has a consolidated revenue column, in that column he brings out a surplus. He then has a capital account column; so that by means of transferring a sufficient number of millions into the capital account column he can run heavily in debt, he can increase our obligations, he can pile up interest, he can go to England and borrow \$2,500,000 of money, and yet go to the people of the country and say: We have a surplus of \$1,750,000. We read on:

Expenditure chargeable to capital account was as follows:—Intercolonial Railway, Prince Edward Island Railway, Lachine Canal, Ottawa works, St. Lawrence River, Sault Ste. Marie Canal, Trent Canal, \$3,477,906; public works, \$376,852; Dominion Lands, \$127,504; Militia, \$173,740; making a total of \$4,156,004.

Sir, I need not make the calculation myself, because if I turn to a page further on of these public accounts, which are given out under the imprimatur of my hon. friend the Minister of Finance, I find on pages 15a and 15b: "Expenditure for 1898 chargeable to Consolidated Fund, \$38,832,526; expenditure chargeable to capital, \$4,143,503." Then, here comes an item that will astonish the country after the pledges which we know were made, after the resolutions that were passed, after the promises that were held forth, under the head of railway subsidies we find \$1,414,984. Then you have the total disbursements of this Government, which claims to have a surplus of \$1,750,000: \$45,334,281; total receipts, \$40,555,510. Then, under the heading of the

difference between receipts and expenditure, that is to say the real deficit, we find \$4,777,771. That is our position; so that in regard to the way the country is run, it is precisely the same thing as in regard to the tariff. But let me call your attention to that surplus. What is it, according to the best political economists and the best finance ministers, such men as Gladstone—what is it but an evidence of incompetence? I have seen it stated as though it were a feather in the cap of this Government, that it has a surplus of \$1,750,000. Now, Sir, I have here what I read at one of my meetings before the people, who were greatly impressed with the statement that there was a surplus of \$1,750,000; I have here a statement made as to the real character of such surpluses—that it is taking money out of the pockets of the people that should not be taken out, that it is bad financiering, it is, in fact, bad statesmanship, even if it was a true surplus, which I have shown by these Public Accounts that it is not. Hear what this great authority says, that I am now going to read to you:

Why, Sir, you heard the hon. gentleman driven to the expedient of giving it as an evidence of prosperity, that during the last fifteen years which the country has been under a protective regime, the finances of the country balanced year after year by surpluses which now aggregate to the enormous sum of \$20,000,000. This fact, which I do not hesitate to say to the hon. gentleman, is nothing short of a disgrace and a shame for the Administration, was treated by him as a boast. I assert that such a condition of things is a shame and a disgrace to any Government. In England the aim and the purpose of the Chancellor of the Exchequer is so to calculate the expense and the expenditure as to make them balance evenly, and the reputation of the Chancellor of the Exchequer would be lost for ever if, year after year, his calculations were found to be wrong. If, instead of having just the reverse which is wanted to meet the expenditure, it was found that there was such a discrepancy in his calculations as exists in Canada, the reputation of the Chancellor of the Exchequer would, I repeat, be lost for ever, unless he were able to show that the discrepancy rose from a sudden disturbance in the condition of business. What is the truth about these surpluses? Twenty millions of dollars, says the Minister of Finance. The truth is, that these surpluses represent \$20,000,000 of unjust taxation, which have been wrung by the Government from the consumers of the country, \$20,000,000 which would have been left in the pockets of the people for the purpose of their own business, for instance, to be applied to the redemption of the mortgages with which this country has been plastered during that term of years.

Now, Sir, who is the author of that statement as to the character of a surplus? I would call the attention of the Treasury benches as to the author of it. If you turn to the "Hansard" of April 12th, 1894, you will find that the word L-a-u-r-l-e-r is at the head of that speech in which this statement occurs. So that this boasted surplus is characterized by the present Prime Minister

as an outrage. Let me use his own words in regard to what his Finance Minister boasted of, and I believe that he himself has boasted of it. Let me read:

What is the truth about this surplus of \$1,750,000? Is it not \$1,750,000 of unjust taxation which has been wrung by the free trade revenue tariff of the Government from the consumers of the country? \$1,750,000 which should have been left in the pockets of the people for the purpose of their own business?

There it is. I have the "Hansard" here in my hand. It is almost incredible, but my right hon. friend and his Minister of Finance can inspect it. It is for their behoof that I read it, as well as for the behoof of the whole House and the country.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I have to turn my attention to the subject of the Department of the Interior. That department as run by the present Minister of the Interior, has certainly been a much bungled department.

Mr. A. CAMPBELL (Kent). Take a little breath.

Mr. DAVIN. My hon. friend from Kent (Mr. Campbell), I am told, is in spirit imitating the Minister of the Interior. The Minister of the Interior has been learning dancing; I am told that my hon. friend from Kent is learning French; and if he will confine his attention to what he calls his 'entourage,' I think the business of the House will go on much better. I wish the Minister of the Interior was here, because I am going to expose some of his blunders, and one of them especially, which was destined to embarrass my right hon. friend at the beginning of his diplomatic life. Last year, in the presence of the Minister of the Interior, I exposed to the House the fact that this great pamphlet, the official handbook of the Dominion of Canada—I read it here and I am not going to do it again—contained pages of libel on Western Assiniboia, declaring that the finest wheat fields in the world, that portion of Canada that Mr. Macoun said was the kidney of the North-west could not grow wheat. If anybody doubts it, I will read the passages again, but as I read them last year and as the blunder is familiar to the people of the west, it is hardly necessary for me to do so. But I think it has been surpassed by a blunder the most signal that probably has ever been perpetrated by any department. As regards that great international commission, of which my right hon. friend the Prime Minister is a member and of which my hon. friend the member for Norfolk was, according to the United States papers, a more distinguished member, of which the Minister of Trade and Commerce and the Minister of Marine and Fisheries are members, things leaked out as to what took place. Now, I am not going to enter into a discussion of the incidents connected with it, nor am I going to dwell upon the mistakes that the

Government has made, because I have things touching my constituents more closely to deal with; but what I am now about to speak of touches very closely the honour of Canada, and it excites my sympathy for the Prime Minister, who, in consequence of the blundering action of the Minister of the Interior, found himself, during that conference in Washington, in a very unpleasant position. It has leaked out that one of the great bones of contention, in fact it was the large bone of contention, between the commissioners for the United States and the commissioners for Her Majesty, was the boundary between the American and Canadian Yukon. It will be remembered that the Minister of the Interior spoke, I think at Vancouver, but I have his speech here. He was coming back from a visit to the Yukon, or rather from a point on the route to Dawson. He declared that he had consulted with Mr. King, who had been at the head of the Boundary Commission, and that he was thoroughly acquainted with the boundary question. I am told that the Prime Minister was presenting the case of Canada and pointing out the boundary that should belong to this country—I am not at liberty to mention the name of the American commissioner who replied to him, but I am told that he said to him: "Sir Wilfrid, is your Minister of the Interior not well posted on the question of the boundary between Canada and the United States in the Yukon district?" I believe the answer came, as it could not fail to come from a loyal leader, "Yes, certainly, I believe that he has studied it under the direction of Mr. King, who has been at the head of the Boundary Commission on this question." "Yes," replied the American commissioner; "well, now, you do not say so; here is a map issued by a department of your own Government showing the boundary between Canada and the United States, and the boundary shown on this map is the American boundary we contend for and not the boundary for which you are contending."

MR. GEO. TAYLOR (South Leeds). What map is that?

MR. DAVIN. It is a descriptive atlas of western Canada, showing the maps of the provinces of Manitoba and British Columbia, the districts of Assiniboia, Alberta and Saskatchewan, a map of the world and of the Dominion of Canada, issued by authority of the Hon. Clifford Sifton, Minister of the Interior, Ottawa, Canada. There it is, and when you look at the Yukon you see that the boundary is marked as contended for by the Americans, and as against our contention.

MR. TAYLOR. Where was that printed?

MR. J. G. H. BERGERON (Beauharnois). It was printed in Chicago.

MR. DAVIN. It is suggested that this map was printed in Chicago. I will send

it over to the Prime Minister that he may look over the boundary. I have no doubt he will recognize it as the map that one of the American commissioners presented for his consideration.

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). I never saw it before to-day.

MR. DAVIN. I see that the hon. Minister of Public Works (Mr. Tarte) is behind him, and is giving my right hon. friend the Prime Minister a pointer. I would say here that he must not always reply on the soundness of the advice coming to him from that quarter. No man ever existed in public life in any country so distrusted as the present Minister of Public Works. The whole of the honest Liberalism of the province of Quebec is in revolt against him; all the unbought Liberalism of western Canada is in revolt against him, but by some extraordinary power he keeps his place and exerts his influence over the Prime Minister. Clubs in Montreal pass resolutions against him, but what happens? My right hon. friend writes letters to silence the voice of indignant Liberalism, and he himself tries to make the peace of the Minister of Public Works with the outraged conscience of the more respectable members of the Liberal party in French Canada. This is really one of the most peculiar of positions, that of the Prime Minister of Canada in regard to the Minister of Public Works, and it excites grave feelings in the minds of the Liberals and even of Conservatives. Mr. Speaker, you will remember the story of Mezentius, who used to tie dead bodies to living bodies, not to quicken the dead but to destroy the living. And some Liberals ask the question: Is this close relationship that exists between the Minister of Public Works and the Prime Minister going to destroy the Government? Conservatives, not sharing this fear yet having correlative feelings of surprise and alarm, ask: Is it going to launch the ship of state on a rolling sea of corruption without bar or shore? What is to be the end of it? Such are the questions people ask when they see this extraordinary influence exercised over the Prime Minister by the Minister of Public Works. As some of you know, McEwen took respectable and able men, professors of colleges, barristers, merchants, and put them under the control of his will in such a way that while apparently in their senses they could not do other than as he bade them. Some such hypnotic influence as that seems to be possessed by the Minister of Public Works over my right hon. friend the leader of the Government. It is a bad thing for the Liberal Government, yet I would I could wake the right hon. gentleman (Sir Wilfrid Laurier) from his trance; wake him completely from the spell that the Minister of Public Works (Mr. Tarte) throws over him. Whatever effect it might have on my own party, I would like to wake him and break the baneful chain, because

It is a painful thing to contemplate. It recalls a situation that was congenial and captivating to the imagination of the Middle Ages. It is a situation that our own Marlowe played with; a situation that has been treated with consummate power and undying art by Goethe the great German poet. You remember, Mr. Speaker—and probably you will have seen it represented on the stage—you will have seen a beautiful and aspiring and instructed nature; a man with academic relations and learned, brought under the spell of a dark and evil spirit, completely sold as it were to that dark and evil spirit, forced to do its bidding, but rewarded by the gratification of every wordly desire. The kingdoms of the world I will give thee. I will give thee rule, only make yourself subject to me. And the right hon. gentleman has not the power to say "Get thee behind me"; but remains under the spell helpless, supine, and there he sits the Faust of Canadian politics, and behind him the Mephistopheles.

Here, Mr. Speaker, is a very curious thing. Here we have an elaborate descriptive atlas of Canada, 220,000 copies of which have been issued by my hon. friend the Minister of the Interior (Mr. Sifton), and in that atlas he places the boundary between Canada and the United States according to the contention of the United States. I have to accept the statement of my right hon. friend (Sir Wilfrid Laurier), but what an extraordinary thing that the Prime Minister should never have seen an atlas like this that was issued by the Minister of the Interior as an official document. What an admission! Last year when I pointed out to the Minister of the Interior certain mistakes in a book of his he said he would withdraw it. I do not know whether he has suppressed it or not, but if it is still being circulated, the kidney of the North-west as a grain-growing country is maligned. It is stated in that official document that no wheat could grow on lands, where I will take you to men who have farmed 320 acres for 15 years and have each \$10,000 made out of growing wheat to their credits in the bank. The title of this book is "An Official Hand-book of the Dominion of Canada." When my hon. friend the ex-Minister of Finance (Mr. Foster) was in the west and attended some meetings to which I invited him, I exhibited this hand-book, and the hon. gentleman (Mr. Foster) knows very well what effect the false statements it contains had upon the people there. Now we have a map issued from the Department of the Interior with such an egregious blunder as I have described. Perhaps it is hardly a question that should be asked, but I would like to know from my right hon. friend if he has never seen this map, whether that map was not quoted to him at Washington.

THE MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS (Mr. Tarte). There is a note explaining the whole thing on the cover.

Mr. DAVIN. I am not addressing the Minister of Public Works. I am dealing with the Prime Minister.

THE MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS (Mr. Tarte). There is a note explaining the whole thing, and my hon. friend (Mr. Davin) knows it too.

Mr. DAVIN. I am speaking to the Prime Minister, and what I am asking him is: Was not that map quoted in Washington as a proof that the contention of the American commissioners was correct?

THE PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). Mr. Speaker, I presume that the hon. gentleman (Mr. Davin) does not expect me to give any secrets of the commission.

Mr. DAVIN. Oh, no.

THE PRIME MINISTER. I may, however, tell him that it was not or could not, because it is on too small a scale to affect the deliberations.

THE MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS (Mr. Tarte). There is a note which explains the whole thing.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. When was it put in.

THE MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. It is on the last page, and a very clear note it is.

Mr. DAVIN. This is first-rate. I have made Mephistopheles very angry. He knows very well that I have sent a spear by pointing out this blunder through the incompetency of this Ministry that will let blood flow for many a day. What has happened? Every issue of that map has been withdrawn and if they could have got that copy out of my hands they would have got it too. Sir, this is evidence of gross incompetency.

I will now refer for a moment to the Yukon district. Can you conceive greater blundering than has characterized all the management of the Department of the Interior in regard to the Yukon? I may tell you, that if it were the time and place I could show you that to this hour in the Yukon district there is the grossest possible mismanagement going on. Take the issue of the commission. What was the use of sending Mr. Ogilvie as the commissioner? Mr. Ogilvie when he went up there went into the gold commissioner's office, spoke to one or two clerks, and declared after ten minutes that he was perfectly satisfied. It is an open secret that Mr. Ogilvie has Mr. Fawcett in the hollow of his hands; Mr. Fawcett is Mr. Ogilvie's creature and although there was a chorus of praise every one knows that this Klondike brochure, issued by the Department of the Interior with the name of Mr. Ogilvie, is full of gross errors. People have been induced to go up rivers prospecting on statements made here which are founded on mere hearsay.

Take, for instance, the Stewart River. The Stewart River is described as a splendid place to prospect, and hundreds of men have gone up that Stewart River and neither in the Stewart River nor in the "pupe" of the river have they found gold in any paying quantities; although if you read this pamphlet of Mr. Ogilvie's you would feel that all a man had to do was to go up that river and get all the gold he wanted. Mr. Ogilvie has been greatly praised, but the fact is that while he is a good engineer, he is quite as unfit to be Governor of the Yukon as Major Walsh proved to be, to my great disappointment. Major Walsh was a man that if he had been properly instructed might have been able to do his work well, but he was sent up there, as we were told last year both by the Prime Minister and the Minister of the Interior, with no instructions whatever. And what was the result? Why, he actually thought that he could defy and override the laws of Canada. He defied the laws of the North-west Territories while the Klondike and the Yukon were as much under the jurisdiction of the North-west Territories as they are now under the jurisdiction of the Dominion of Canada, and he behaved in a very extraordinary way. But the information I have about Mr. Ogilvie is also of a very extraordinary character, and I am sorry the Minister of the Interior is not here. I am told, for instance, on good authority that Mr. Ogilvie, in order to raise money, had put a tax on women plying an improper trade.

Mr. J. DOMVILLE (Kings, N.B.) No. I was out there the other day.

Mr. DAVIN. Well, I would not dispute an authority like my hon. friend.

Mr. DOMVILLE. No, the women are all free.

Mr. DAVIN. Well, I know that my hon. friend is a great authority on these subjects; but my information is, that a tax was imposed upon them, from which in one day \$16,000 was raised.

Mr. DOMVILLE. From what—from women?

Mr. DAVIN. Yes.

Mr. DOMVILLE. Oh, no; you are wrong.

Mr. DAVIN. Look at the position of things, Mr. Speaker, in this House. Here we are, debating questions relating to the North-west Territories, questions relating to the boundary between Canada and the United States, questions affecting the moral management of the Yukon, and the authority we have to fall back upon, in order to obtain information, is my hon. and gallant friend. I have a high opinion of my hon. and gallant friend, but he is not a Minister—at least, he is not a Minister yet, and he cannot speak with the authority of the Minister.

Mr. DOMVILLE. If my hon. friend would allow me to say one word. Would he take my word for it, that the women are not taxed out there?

Mr. DAVIN. I will take his word for anything he would say on that subject, because I know that it is probably the only subject on which he is thoroughly well informed. Now, Mr. Speaker, I say it is a serious thing that we have not the hon. Minister of the Interior here, when such questions are being debated.

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). Permit me. I am sorry the Minister of the Interior is not in his seat to-day. If he is not, it is because he is kept in his room by rather serious illness.

Mr. DAVIN. I did not know that, and I am sorry to hear it. I am very glad he is not neglecting his duties. However, I have here a speech of the hon. and gallant member for King's (Mr. Domville), in which he declares, that there has been in the Klondike the grossest possible mismanagement.

Mr. DOMVILLE. No, excuse me. I never made any such statement. I ask my hon. friend to read where I made any such statement.

Mr. DAVIN. I did not intend to trouble the House with my hon. friend's eloquence; but now I shall have to do it.

Mr. DOMVILLE. Well, do it.

Mr. DAVIN. I will do anything to oblige my hon. friend. Is that my hon. friend from Saskatchewan (Mr. Davis) who is making an interruption? Let us have a good one, as he said when he went into a Winnipeg cigar store the other day, and the storekeeper asked him whether he would like a foreign or a domestic cigar. "I do not know," he said, "but give us a good one." Give us a good interruption, if you give us one at all. Now, I have here what my hon. friend from King's said, because I treasure what he says. There is a virility about all my hon. friend's utterances that I admire.

Mr. DOMVILLE. May I ask my hon. friend, what paper he is quoting from?

Mr. DAVIN. First, I must have my hon. friend deny it.

Mr. DOMVILLE. I cannot deny it until I know what you are reading from.

Mr. DAVIN. This is what he says about the 10 per cent royalty:

It is ridiculous; simply ridiculous. As a result of it men are hiding away their gold and getting it out of the country, and I do not blame them. I would do it myself. If the royalty was 3 per cent, more would be realised from it than from 10 per cent. The present system simply put a premium on rascality. It originated from reports of officials here, made in Ottawa, that the mines were owned by Yankens, and that they were richer than they are.

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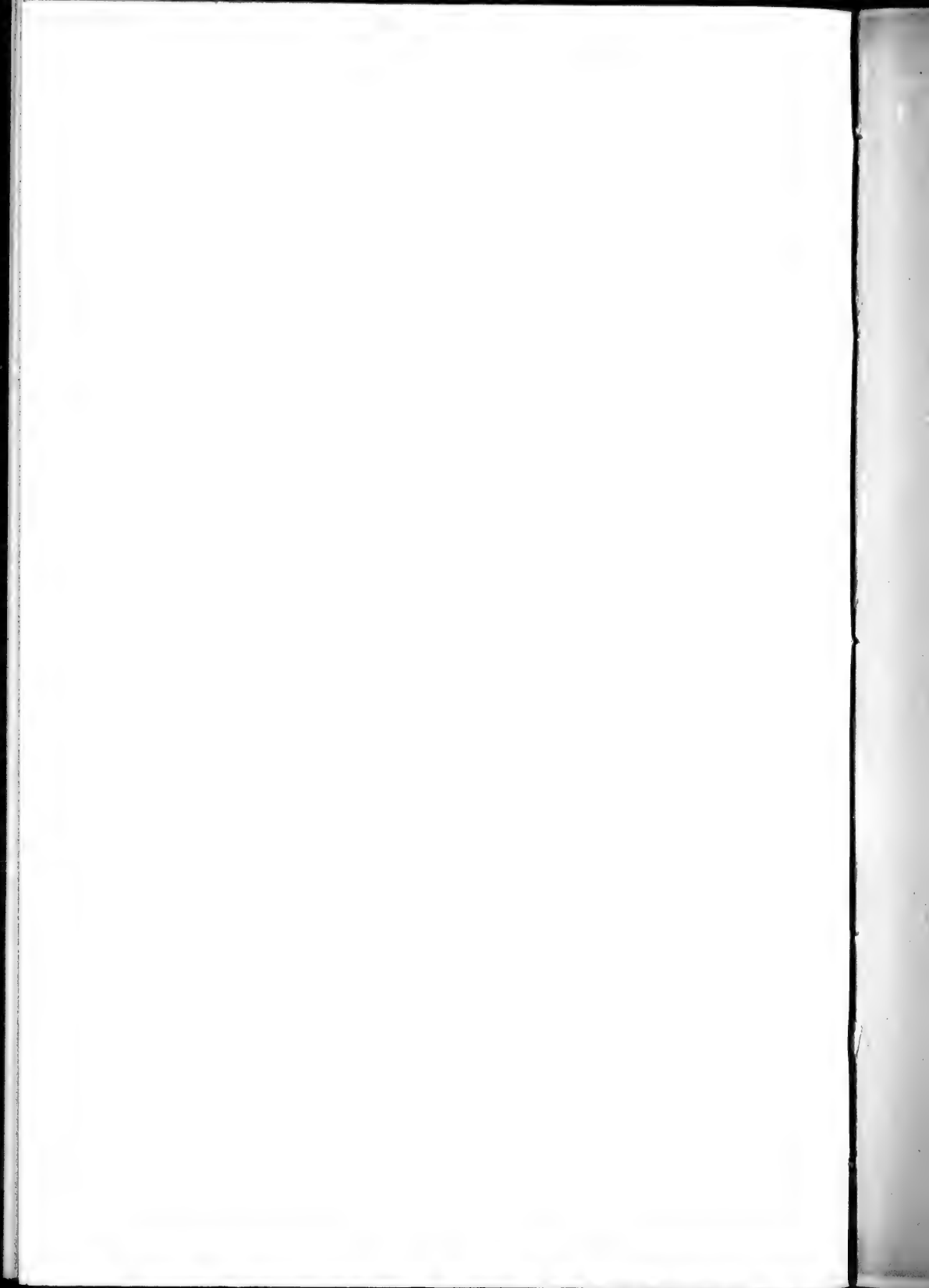
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The hon. gentleman does not deny that?

Mr. DOMVILLE. I cannot tell what my hon. friend is reading from. He may have made it up. I do not say he did; but when he quotes a statement from me, I want him to give the authority he got it from.

Mr. DAVIN. I am quoting from a report of the hon. gentleman's speech, which is quoted in the Winnipeg "Telegram" of August 12, 1898.

Mr. DOMVILLE. That is all right. I do not admit that I made that statement.

Mr. DAVIN. My hon. friend can keep his soul in peace, because it will console him to know that it does not matter the least to me or to the people of Canada whether he ever said it or not.

Mr. DOMVILLE. Why do you talk about it?

Mr. DAVIN. But I will say this, that the information I have is, that the 10 per cent royalty is a mistake, and that more money would be obtained from a more moderate royalty. In a speech which I already quoted from the Minister of the Interior, he said, when asked about the banks, that the banks would go up there. He was asked, whether he would provide that the management of the banks in the Yukon would be such as would be just to the miners. He distinctly said in that speech—I am quoting from memory, but I have his speech here—that he would take care that justice was done. What is the fact at the present time? Mr. Ogilvie went up there, and the first thing he did, when he went there, was to get his little council to pass an ordinance forbidding payments to officials in gold dust. The principal currency of a mining camp like Dawson is gold dust; but if a miner goes into the gold commissioner's office, or if he has to pay for land that he buys from the Government, the Government will not take payment in gold dust. He has to go to the bank, and the bank will not give him anything like an equivalent of the value he used to get. The bank will not give him the actual purchasing power of the gold dust. The consequence is, that the banks there are making a huge profit, and are fleecing and plundering the miners.

Mr. TAYLOR. Senator Cox's bank.

Mr. DAVIN. One of them is Senator Cox's bank, I believe. There is another thing to which I wish to draw attention. The chartered banks are doing what my hon. friend the Postmaster General (Mr. Mulock), whom I now see present, when he used to sit on this side, was wont to denounce. He was then very much taken up with the question of usurious rates of interest, and I rather think he made an effort in this House to control the rate of interest debtors could be forced to pay. Well, what are the facts to-day in Dawson? The chartered banks

there are charging the usurious interest of two per cent per month. I may be told that this is no affair of the Government but a purely commercial matter. That, however, is not the doctrine which was preached here before by some of the present leaders of the Liberal party. They used to hold out to the people that if they ever got into power they would not allow usury to prevail in any part of Canada, and certainly would not allow it to run rampant and be practised by chartered banks. That surely is a most serious matter.

I would like to ask the hon. Minister of Public Works (Mr. Tarte) whether there is a Mr. Emery Lafontaine in his employ at present. Anyway there was a Mr. Lafontaine in the employ of the Public Works Department, who went up to Dawson last year. If an inquiry be held, and there must be an inquiry into the whole of the Dawson management, it can be proved, I am informed, that his conduct as well as that of Mr. Ogilvie has been anything but becoming officials in any department. Mr. Ogilvie is not heavy enough for the position of commissioner. To use a French phrase, he has not the "exterieur" for his position; he has not the experience or the weight for his position. He is not fit for it and has made mistakes, some grave and some trifling, but even the trifling ones show the man's character. For instance, during the fire at Dawson, they got an experienced man to work the fire engine. Mr. Ogilvie, however, came along, and without consulting the mounted police who were around, without consulting anybody, said to this man, who was working away at the engine: Get out, you are not in uniform. I would not like to repeat what this man replied, because I would be guilty of irreverence, but he turned round and said to Mr. Ogilvie something to this effect: You are not the creator of the world. I may not be the creator of the world, retorted our commissioner, but I am Mr. Ogilvie, the commissioner of the Yukon, and you must get out of this. He then called a policeman to take in charge this man, who was actually working away at the engine, and had him sent to jail. The people around booed and jeered, and there was danger of such a scene as that described by Lord Macaulay, when one of the worst of the Claudian gens had behaved so improperly that the Romans gathered up their gowns and took up the benches and created great riot. The result was that this high and mighty commissioner had to take back water and let the man return to his work. That may be a trifle, but it shows the character of the man. I am told that Mr. Ogilvie is in with Mr. Fawcett. I do not wish to say anything more about that, because it is only rumour, but I am told further that he is a cousin of the Minister of the Interior (Mr. Sifton). That, I do not think is quite proper, and if there be an inquiry, as there should, there ought to be

one of the broadest character and not merely an official one. Mr. Lafontaine went up there, and if we have an inquiry, I have the names of witnesses who will go into the box—and these names I will give to whoever may have the authority to call witnesses—and prove that he used to go into the gold commissioner's office and look over the book of abandoned claims and use for his own personal advantage the information he got there. This book, it seems, shows all the claims had to be abandoned by poor miners who were not able to fulfil the conditions although many of these abandoned claims are good ones. The public outside were not made aware of the fact that these claims were abandoned, the whole thing was kept in the dark; they did not know that these claims were open to be restaked, and Mr. Lafontaine, after looking over this book, would go out and send one of his agents or go himself to some miner and arrange for taking them up. People would say: Lafontaine is in with the Government, he belongs to one of the departments, he knows all about this, he knows where there is a good mine, let some one stake it out, and give Mr. Lafontaine one-half, and one-quarter to Lafontaine's imp or acolyte or messenger or whatever you like to call him, and the man who stakes the claim may keep the other quarter. According to the information I have, that was done on a large scale by this officer of the Department of Public Works.

Let me refer now to the case of MacGregor and Wade. They, the two principal criminals, fled from the Yukon the moment Mr. Ogilvie went up, and what was the story told? Mr. MacGregor who was sent up as an inspector of mines, and, therefore, was guilty of misconduct and of a breach of the Order in Council, as I am informed, went directly contrary to the existing law, in staking out claims, made a raid on the Monte Christo Island, where he and his friends staked claims, and the result is that in consequence of his official knowledge he has made some \$65,000 or \$75,000.

But it appears that the whole conduct of the department up there is on a par with this. The Minister of the Interior (Mr. Sifton) has organized the department as no department was ever organized, namely, on a personal basis. His official staff is made up of heelers, of his own friends, of relatives of his own, and I may tell the right hon. Prime Minister, who is interested in knowing it, that the Yukon is being exploited in a manner to throw grave suspicion on the Department of the Interior. And I say that if there is anything like an adequate inquiry, it will be shown that lands out there are being kept back from being staked in the interests of somebody or another—I suppose in the interest of men like Drolet, who got such dredging advantages as we showed last year he obtained, and then went over to England and sold them for vast sums—went over paupers, he and others, and

returned millionaires or half millionaires. Is this a sample of the very pure administration that the Minister of Trade and Commerce promised those patrons in the letter I have read and which he published in what was then the subsidized organ of the Postmaster General (Mr. Mulock) who is now looking at me? I wish he had been here when I read that letter. It would have done his heart good to hear the vigorous protests made by the hon. Minister of Trade and Commerce (Sir Richard Cartwright), as to the sincerity with which he grasped to his bosom the Patrons and their platform. He will see them in "Hansard," and I beg him to read, mark and inwardly digest the sentiments. Not even after looking into his own heart and conscience and his pledges to the House, will he be able to plumb the depth of the sincerity of the Government of which he is a member, as he will be on reading those words written by the hon. Minister of Trade and Commerce (Sir Richard Cartwright).

Well, there is Wade. He is a sort of pooh-bah holding a lot of offices. He too had his reign. And both of them came back. But, first, I am sorry to say, Commissioner Walsh came back, and what did he say? The first thing he did was to make a report, and the first thing that report does is to prove that the statement made by the Minister of the Interior from his place in this House was incorrect—that is the strongest language in which parliamentary rules will allow me to put it. Mr. Walsh says positively that his orders were to go to Dawson. Positively from his place last session the Minister of the Interior said that Mr. Walsh's orders were not to go to Dawson. Mr. Walsh said he did not see why officials should not stake claims. And when McGregor came—he is a horse dealer, I may say.

Mr. WM. McCLEARY (Welland). Did you say horse thief?

Mr. DAVIN. Well, Sir, that is an inspired utterance, for, I may say, the police were after McGregor a short time before for horse stealing in the west. He was a horse dealer, and I suppose the Minister of the Interior thought that he could tell the quality of a mine, as he could the quality of a horse, by looking at its mouth. Well, McGregor and Wade came back, and what did they say? They said they had permission to stake claims. Permission from whom? McGregor could have had permission from nobody except the Minister of the Interior, who is the master of the department. Well, Sir, that is a serious charge, and it is part and parcel of the egregious bungling.

Now, take a feature of the hon. Minister's department that there is great boasting about, and in regard to which I have never said a word of condemnation. I have never said a word adverse to the Minister of the Interior in regard to immigration. My right hon. friend the Premier will re-

member that when he was sitting on this side of the House, a great friend of mine, Sir John Carling, was Minister of Agriculture. I have since been sorry that even once and indirectly I should have girded against the department under him, because I believe he was a good Minister of Agriculture. One year—I think it was 1890—he only had \$50,000 in the Estimates for immigration. As a western man, I attached great importance to immigration, and I was angry that any man should be content to remain in the department with only \$50,000 provided for that service. I contended that we should have plenty of means for immigration, and that the immigration branch should be transferred to the Department of the Interior; and it was on that occasion that I said that the Cabinet of my late right hon. leader was a "cabinet of antiques." And I may tell you what happened then. My hon. friend the whip (Mr. Taylor) came over, after that disturbing speech, and asked me where I was. I said: I am where I have always been, a true supporter of the Conservative party, but independent on North-west matters. This position is shown in all my addresses to the people of the North-west and it was because I was so independent of the Liberal-Conservative Government that I was able to accomplish so many things as I did for the farmers of the North-west Territories. For instance, the Dominion Lands Act—I took that Act and turned it upside down. Why, even since you came into power I have accomplished something for the North-west Territories. My hon. friend the member for Alberta (Mr. Oliver) has been making speeches in Calgary and in Regina. When he was in Regina, unfortunately, I was speaking at Balgonie. Otherwise I should like to have heard him, and also my hon. friend from Lisgar, and another who spoke there, because I am certain I should have been interested. But there was one extraordinary thing about the speech of my hon. friend from Alberta. When he spoke in Calgary he tried to show what the Liberal party had done for the west. Two things he dwelt upon particularly. In the first place, he compared the number of creameries in Alberta at the present time with the number that were there in 1896. But the increase in those creameries is in consequence of a motion that I moved in 1896. And the first thing the hon. gentleman did when he broke cover on coming down here was to oppose my motion. I think it would have been more in accordance with the independent character he loves to assume if the hon. gentleman had not insisted that the Liberal Government were deserving of that credit, but had said: I made a great mistake when I went down in 1896. I was impatient to flesh my maiden sword on somebody or other, and I attacked the member for West Assiniboia. Fancy what I did. I actually assailed Davin; I live after assailing him and I am here. The

hon. gentleman will remember that he opposed my motion about the creameries, and he should have told these people that it was in consequence of that motion, and not in consequence of any policy of the Liberal Government, that these creameries exist in Alberta to-day. At Regina, as well as at Calgary, the hon. gentleman made much of the statement that the Liberal Government had modified the Dominion Lands Act to suit the ranchers. Of course, if the Liberal Government had opposed it, I could not have had it passed. But the change that was made was proposed in my Bill, and that Bill was adopted by the Minister of the Interior. The Liberal Government was entitled to the credit of not opposing it; if they had not yielded to me, it could not have been passed; but they are not deserving of credit for it any more than they are deserving of credit for the hon. gentleman's vote against them on the Teslin Lake Railway, or the hon. gentleman's denunciations of the many peccadilloes of the Minister of the Interior. We are in this extraordinary position—that everything the Government and its supporters take credit for is found to have been proposed from this side, either by the former Government or by myself.

I have dwelt on the mismanagement of the Department of the Interior. I have said that I have not spoken against its immigration policy. And I will tell you why. As long as a man is fit to assimilate with us, however poor he may be or wherever he may come from, I would not say a word against him. I have never said a word against the Galicians, who are the bête noir of my hon. friend from Alberta. He has assailed the Galicians and assailed the Department of the Interior for bringing them in. Others have assailed the Doukhobors. Now, Sir, I believe that the Doukhobors, those immigrants from the theatre of the sufferings and triumphs of Prometheus to this new and happier stage where humanity enjoys all that the friend of humanity could have desired it to enjoy—these people seem to me to be a most interesting class. But, Sir, I have this criticism to make. I cannot agree with colonial settlements; I cannot agree with planting colonies. It is a most serious thing, because the colony, as a rule, is cut off from the public opinion of the country around. It renders it very difficult to make Canadians of them. Here we are, a people that lay so much store on the public school as a nationalizing influence, and here is our immigration policy which, by making settlements by colonies, strikes a serious blow at the nationalization of our people. Suppose it goes on, where is it to stop? Before you know where you are you will have an immense and controlling portion of people in those vast tracts who are outside of Canadian sentiment altogether. So that while I am ready to welcome the Doukhobors, and the Galicians, for that matter, I am op-

posed to settlements by colonies. Mix them up with our own people, let them amalgamate with our own people.

I regret the cause of the absence of the Minister of the Interior as well as his absence. But I must go on, because I have to leave for the Lower Provinces. I object to exceptional treatment to any immigrants. If there is to be any exceptional treatment, I say it should be given to our own kith and kin; to the people of Ireland, to the people of Scotland, to the people of England, to the people of France, if you will. But any way, if there is to be exceptional treatment, it should be at the command of the possible immigrants in England, Scotland or Ireland. Give any intelligent man authority to go to England and make the proposals to the poorer classes, to the English agricultural labourer, that have been made to these very interesting and welcome Doukhobors; and we shall have the Englishman, the Scotchman and the Irishman coming into this country. We have to-day an immigration agent, in fact we have paid a premium to a gentleman, Mr. Devlin, who used to be a member of this House, in order to silence him, in order to prevent him from knifing the Minister because, in his view, the Minister had been false to its promises. So the Government said: We will get rid of him, we will put the whole sea between him and us, we will give him such a salary as has never been given to any immigration agent before. Having sent him to Ireland, what has been the result? Have they got any results from Ireland? No, Sir. Then take a Scotchman. Why, Sir, the best immigrants that you can possibly have from any country are the thrifty Scotchmen, and how the Scotchmen would jump at such treatment as has been dealt out to those gentlemen from the Caucasus. What have they done there? The hon. gentleman in order to get farmers and agricultural labourers from Scotland, does he go to a Scotch settlement? Does he go down to Glengarry and say to the gentlemen in Glengarry: Give me a good Scotchman to go as an immigration agent to Scotland? No, he does not do anything of that sort. But he goes down to Rideau Hall, and I suppose he said to Lord Aberdeen: Lord Aberdeen, I would like to bring out a few shiplads of butlers, good Scotch butlers. We have grown so wealthy, we are so prosperous now in Canada that we want to put on great style. We want some first-class butlers. Will you lend me a butler? And the butler is provided, he is sent to Scotland as an immigration agent, and really I do not know what great results he has achieved. He came west to us, and he visited some farms, and I am told on good authority that, looking at some timothy seed, he said: That is the most interesting specimen of wheat products that I have seen. He was looking at a binder, and he asked the man who owned the binder: Now, how

do you run that? Do the horses go before it or go behind it? There, Mr. Speaker, is a sample of their immigration agents.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER (Cape Breton). Was this man Lord Aberdeen's butler?

Mr. DAVIN. Yes, he is the immigration agent in Scotland. Now, I have not heard that he has brought out a single farmer; and I have sought in vain the records of the department to find that he has brought out a single Scotch butler since he went there.

When we come to the expenditure and ask how our debt is running up, we have only to recall what came out here last session. My hon. friend the Minister of Public Works has the courage of his convictions, his boldness is admirable, he does not shrink from anything. He was speaking at Valleyfield and he said: We have expended much this year, but wait till you see us next year. These gentlemen drunk with the prosperity which they did not create, when they are confronted with their vast expenditure and their debt piling up, instead of saying in a repentant tone: Well, we will do better; they say: Wait till you see us next year, then we will have an orgie such as will throw the present financial debauch completely into the background. It reminds me of a circumstance that occurred in one of our departments here which used to amuse my late right hon. leader, Sir John A. Macdonald. There was a gentleman, a good officer, but his habits kept him back. He overcame his habits, and he was promoted from the rank of a third-class clerk to that of a second-class clerk. He could not stand it; he had to celebrate it, and the next day when he came to the office, his chief said: "Is not this a nice way for you to show your appreciation of what the Government has done for you?" The gentleman asked: "What do you mean?" The chief answered: "You were drunk yesterday." "How do you know?" "I saw you drunk, sir, and you were very drunk." "What time was it?" "Why, sir, it was two o'clock." "Well," he said, "you should have seen me at six." That is something like what the Minister of Public Works said. Drunk with the prosperity for which, as I say, they should have no credit, power unearned and undeserved, glorying in that policy which for eighteen years they repudiated, priding themselves on having cast off the honourable uniform of Liberalism and donned the livery of the manufacturers, the hon. Minister of Public Works cries: "Yes, we spend much now; wait until you see us next year." Well, Sir, I may tell you that the people of this country do not think that it was he who made the prosperity, nor the gentlemen who have abandoned Liberalism who have made that prosperity, and if next year or this year the should come face to face with betrayed Liberals and a disappointed country they

will find that my hon. friend's cynical attitude is one that does not commend itself to the people of Canada. Mr. Speaker, I have probably lengthened out these few remarks a little longer than I intended, but as I have one or two more topics to deal with we had better call it six o'clock.

It being six o'clock, the Speaker left the Chair.

After Recess.

Mr. DAVIN (West Assinibola). Mr. Speaker, I repeat, Sir, my strong regrets that my hon. friend the Minister of the Interior is not able to be in his place. I greatly regret the cause. As he is not here I feel compelled to go more particularly into his relation to the North-west Territories, because if he were here, it would have been enough to have stated, as I have stated, that he has been false to his promise and to his pledges to the people of the west, but, as he is not here, I feel bound to prove fully what I have indicated. Sir, I have shown how completely forsworn the Prime Minister is; I have shown how completely recreant to his former principles and pledges the Minister of Trade and Commerce is; I am now going to show how still more recreant to his promises and pledges and former principles the Minister for the West in the Cabinet is. Mr. Speaker, you remember that my late friend, Mr. Dalton McCarthy during the election of 1896 ran for two constituencies; he ran for Brandon and he ran for his old constituency, and the present Minister of the Interior was his manager in the former election. Here is a Bill printed under the direction of the Minister of the Interior, on a white ground in red letters:

Vote for McCarthy, the friend of British connection and national schools,—

And then come the items I want to call attention to—

—reduced freight rates, free machinery, free lumber.

My hon. friend the Finance Minister is in his place and he knows as well as I do that there has been no relief in regard to freight rates, or lumber, or the machinery used by the farmer of the North-west Territories as promised in that bill or placard. On the 20th May, 1896, a meeting was held at Brandon, at which addresses were delivered by Mr. Sifton, Mr. James A. Smart, the present Deputy Minister of the Interior, and others, and at which my late lamented friend, Mr. Dalton McCarthy, was nominated. Mr. Sifton, now the Minister of the Interior, strongly supported Mr. McCarthy, on the tariff, and a resolution was passed in which the platform of 1893 was endorsed and in which these words were used:

We condemn the Government of the Dominion for its adherence to the policy of protection, which imposes grievous burdens upon the agri-

cultural community without any compensating advantages.

"We condemn the Government of the Dominion." Why, Sir, you can read that resolution to-day, and it has intenser significance. On Thursday, May 23rd, 1896, Mr. Dalton McCarthy was enthusiastically received at Brandon. Mr. Sifton spoke on that occasion. The Minister of the Interior, at that time Mr. Sifton, spoke at the meeting there, and this is what he said:

We have in Mr. Dalton McCarthy a man who supports our principles.

Along with others, I have been blamed with having changed my principles; but where does a better Liberal policy exist than in "tariff for revenue only."

That is quoted because it is one of the planks in the address of Mr. McCarthy. This is what is said about the speech of my hon. friend the Minister of the Interior (Mr. Sifton) on that occasion:

He closed with an earnest appeal to the electors that every one who felt his duty to the country as a country of his own, would work hard until the 23rd of June that Dalton McCarthy may be our representative.

You remember, Sir, that Mr. McCarthy elected to sit for his old constituency, and a convention assembled at Souris on October 27th, 1896, for the purpose of choosing a candidate to represent Brandon in the room of Dalton McCarthy. This is what Mr. Sifton of that day said:

When Mr. McCarthy was elected last June, the people here did the best day's work ever done in one day in Manitoba, for they furnished an argument that could not be subverted, and secured a man of the utmost prominence to advocate—

To advocate what, Mr. Speaker:

—to advocate their views on the tariff.

And he says elsewhere:

We men of Manitoba have certain strong views—

Strong views upon what?

—upon the tariff question, and it is doubly necessary that we should be represented.

In the address that Mr. Sifton issued to the electors of Brandon and dated November 18th, this is what he says:

It will be my especial duty to lend my assistance in bringing about such reform in the tariff and such alterations in the methods of administering North-western affairs as will enhance the prosperity of the farming community, and thus lay the best possible foundation for a successful immigration policy.

This gentleman (Mr. Sifton), prior to his entering the Ministry spoke in that way, but let me read what the same gentleman said at Perth the other day—and I quote his exact words now, as I quoted them from memory before:

The tariff question in Canada is settled. It is, I venture to say, a dead issue. There will be

changes, but as an issue between the parties it is dead. We have succeeded in solving the difficulties, and our opponents, if in power, would not alter it, because they are satisfied, and we are satisfied.

You, Sir, know the way the Winnipeg "Tribune" commented on that. The "Tribune," a Liberal newspaper, said: We would want a new political vocabulary to understand the Minister of the Interior; and the writer went on to express his utter astonishment that any man, a member of the Liberal Government—at least, a so-called Liberal Government—would talk in that way.

There are other features about the method of the Minister of the Interior which justifies his title to the young Napoleon. We know that Napoleon was unscrupulous, was tyrannical, and was impatient of independence of thought. His sole idea was to have one mind in the country, and to have that mind—his own—control everything. One of the methods of the Minister of the Interior (Mr. Sifton) is this. He has established here in Ottawa a central press bureau, whence letters are sent to any papers that will publish them. The consequence is that you can take one paper after another in Manitoba and the North-west Territories, and you will find a letter from "Our correspondent at Ottawa." It may be the "Bally Boomerang Gazette," or it may be the "Shang Wang Sentinel," or it may be the Red Deer "Cultivator," or it may be the "Townships Incisor"; but whatever the title, if it be a Liberal paper there is a letter in it identical with the others. Not only that, but leading articles are sent out from Ottawa. This is what is called in the west the "Siftonian Reptile Press." Sir, let me call your attention to the gravity of this method. The press is one of the most efficient instruments of government in a free community. The organized opinion of which I spoke in the earlier part of my remarks is mainly given voice and effect to in this country by means of the press, and in order that the press shall do it, it must be an independent press. You cannot have a paper published 2,000 miles or 1,500 miles from Ottawa and the articles concocted for it here, and at the same time have that newspaper fulfil the functions which the press ought to fulfil. Sir, the system thus adopted is a fraud on the community. To have these letters sent out under the direction of one of the Ministers of the Crown, and sent out in order to boom that one Minister cuts at the very root of the independence of the press. These letters are full of the greatness of the young Napoleon; he is a heaven-born Minister; everything he has done is wonderful, and his immigration policy is unequalled. Let me say en passant that in that immigration policy he has only followed the principle laid down by his predecessors. Mr. Daly brought in some colonies of immigrants and the Minister of the Interior (Mr. Sifton) is doing the same thing. I did not at all agree with Mr. Daly having

done so, because I disapprove of immigration by colonies. Everything that the young Napoleon does is perfect according to these letters. But sometimes a mistake is made, and one of the letters was sent to an independent paper called the "Grenfell Sun," edited by a very able man, Mr. John Nicholls. That paper contained the following article in its edition some time ago:

A few days ago we received a communication from a gentleman in Ottawa, offering to send us a weekly political letter free of charge. We have received one already which we have published entire this week. We are always thankful to get live, up-to-date correspondence of either local or general interest, but judging from the letter we publish, our friend in Ottawa seems to be writing from an altogether partisan point of view in favour of the Government. Now, we desire to do the Government every justice, as we appreciate the difficulties which men in such positions have to meet, but we can do that the more effectually, and also act more in accordance with our views of the public interest, by judging the Government by its own deeds, and not through any party-coloured spectacles. While therefore, we thank our friend for his courteous offer, we shall have to reserve to ourselves of judging how far his letters may be intended to serve mere party and not general interests, and to act accordingly.

This system of things was commenced by the Minister of the Interior, it seems, even before he became Minister of the Interior, because a Mr. W. G. King, who was one of his acolytes, and had fallen out with him, writes on the 4th of September, 1897, to express his disgust at the way he had been treated, and declares that the Minister of the Interior was deeply indebted to him, amongst other reasons for this:

And he owes it also to the writer, who, by the judicious management of the entire south Manitoba press, formed the entire public sentiment in Mr. Sifton's favour, which ultimately secured his election by acclamation.

So here, on the eve of his coming down to Ottawa, this Napoleonic gentleman of Napoleonic instincts and Napoleonic methods, had already corrupted the entire press of southern Manitoba. He had sent down a man who unblushingly declares that he corrupted that press in order to secure the election of the hon. gentleman by acclamation. Says the "Telegram":

The judicious management of the western press for the fictitious manufacture of public sentiment in Mr. Sifton's favour has been systematically pursued ever since. So gross has it become, that nine papers published simultaneously as their own editorial an article defending Mr. Sifton, which has been prepared at Ottawa, and a number of others publish the same article otherwise than as an editorial.

Nine papers publishing an editorial, declaring that this gentleman who presides over the Department of the Interior is everything that is to be desired as a statesman—an editorial concocted in the Department of

the Interior itself. Why, Sir, it is a monstrous state of things. As an old Liberal, Sir, I think you will be pained to learn that the organ of the Minister of the Interior in Winnipeg is laying down doctrines not only contrary to Liberal principles but contrary to the principles of Liberal and Conservatives in every free and constitutional country the world over. The Winnipeg "Free Press" of February 6th takes occasion to comment severely on the action of the late Mr. Jameson in speaking at a meeting as follows:—

The effect of our representative system was to place a good deal of power in the hands of one man, who, as long as he has the support of the House of Commons, he was to a great extent a dictator. As soon as the Cabinet are united the members have to choose between following their decision and practically voting against his party. As a consequence, there might be a great deal of hasty legislation introduced which might not have the approval of a great number of members, and, under the ideas of party discipline which prevail, that legislation goes through anyway.

It is well known that Mr. Jameson, who was a man of large mind and broad sympathies, was entirely impatient of the boss system of machine politics that obtains here to-day in the Liberal party. Well, Sir, he was taken to task by the organ of the Minister of the Interior, which declares that this gentleman is entirely mistaken in supposing that a member of Parliament should be independent. Not only that, but it says he is under a complete misunderstanding as to what is our parliamentary system. Referring to some extracts, which it quotes from a book, it says:

If these extracts are read over carefully, it will be seen that the Government dictates everything to Parliament, and that it is in accordance with our system that it should be so. Parliament is at liberty to reject the advice of the Government, but it does so at peril of losing the services of that Government. It is indispensable that the House should have a leader, and that responsible Minister is not in the least injured by being called a dictator.

And it goes on to say that the proper view of a responsible Minister is that he is a dictator to the party. I may say here, looking back at the past history of the Parliaments in which I have sat, that anybody who goes over that history will see that it was because I acted with the Independence I did since 1887, when I struck the first note of independence here, right on to the defeat of the Government—voting against them, and acting against them whenever it was necessary in the interest of the North-west Territories—it was for that reason I was able to do more than any other private member ever accomplished. Now, Sir, what are we to think of a Liberal newspaper which comes out and declares as follows:—

It is laid down that the Government is not only responsible for legislation, but the authorities go so far as to say that "it is the special duty of the Government, as the responsible lead-

ers (dictators) of legislation, and the chosen guardians of the public interests in Parliament, to watch carefully the progress of private legislation in the House and its committees, and see that it does not in any way interfere with the policy of the Ministry." It will be seen from this that the dictatorship is a fundamental part of the British system of parliamentary government.

I say, as everybody who is acquainted with the constitutional history of England knows, that the true duty a member of Parliament has to perform is to express the opinion of the country and especially of his constituents. He comes here to confer. This is the great council of the nation. We are not the mere puppets that this writer has made out. We are the persons who govern the country, and these gentlemen of the Government are only a committee into whose hands, for convenience sake, we place the duties and the great responsibilities that are ours. But, Sir, this is in entire keeping with the view dear to the heart of the present Minister of the Interior, because, Sir, you remember what happened in regard to that monstrous transaction, the Teslin Lake Railway. You remember that seven days before Parliament met that gentleman had a contract—a contract that was not worth the paper it was written on without the sanction of this Parliament—signed. Seven days before Parliament met, that gentleman had that contract signed in secret, and thus showed a high-handed contempt for the independence and authority of this Parliament.

Having mentioned that Teslin Lake Railway, Mr. Speaker, I may say that since we were here last year, the Minister of the Interior has placed the price of \$10 an acre on all the gold-bearing land in the Yukon. You remember, Sir, what we were told from these benches. We were told by one Minister of the Crown that the gold-bearing land that was to be given to Mann & Mackenzie might turn out to be worth nothing—that it was all a huge gamble, and now not an acre of it can be had for less than \$10. Let me dwell on the monstrosity of the bargain made by the Minister of the Interior with Mackenzie & Mann for that road, and I am going to point out features of it that were unknown to us last year, or at least were not fully known. First and foremost, you have 25,000 acres of this gold-bearing land which is now valued at \$10 an acre, or \$250,000, for the purpose of building one mile of a little tramway.

You have 25,000 acres, worth on their face, without anything being done at all, \$250,000. You give that for the purpose of building what? One mile of a little tramway, just the length of two quarter sections, but the best way of bringing it home to the farmers is this. Divide the 25,000 acres by 640, the number of acres in a section, and you have thirty-nine sections of gold-bearing land given to build the length of two quarters of sections of a one-horse tramway. But what have we discovered since? From the North-west Territories

was sent, in order to carry out certain regulations considered necessary, Mr. Bulyea, a prominent Liberal in Dominion politics, who is a member of the local government. He has told us what has been told by more than one traveller, that that Hootalinqua River would have been perfectly useless as one of the links of that Teslin Lake Railway. Not only that, but on the other side there is an immense marsh, and the most recent reports we have from the Klondike country are to the effect that the worst possible route that could have been chosen was that route. What were we told last session when there was a possibility of that happening which did ultimately happen, namely, the rejection of that Bill by the Senate? We were told that the people would starve. Have they starved? No. We were told that great evils would result. Great evils have not resulted. It was asserted to be the most feasible line. But a line has been built far into that country without one dollar of help from the Dominion Government, and everything that has happened since has been of a character to demonstrate what I lay down here, that from the beginning to the end there has been nothing but bungling in the Klondike.

Coming back once more to the immigration policy of the department and the immigration of the Doukhobors, there is something wrong, as I will show you, Mr. Speaker. A special arrangement was made with regard to this Doukhobor immigration. So far as one can make out from the papers, seven dollars a head were given to these people. Whether given directly to the immigrants or to Count Tolstoi, I do not know, but there is something to be explained, and I refer to this in order that it may go on "Hansard," and that we may get an explanation by and by from the hon. Minister of Interior (Mr. Sifton). A committee met in London and collected money to bring out the Doukhobors, and it seems that Count Tolstoi chartered vessels from Batoum to bring these immigrants here. Well, some 2,300 immigrants came out in one ship, and \$7 a head for each of these would do much more than charter one of such vessels as brought them from Batoum, so that I think there is something to be inquired into regarding the details of that arrangement. I repeat that I should like to see something like the same consideration given to our own people in England, Scotland and Ireland.

I wish to refer to the ignorance on the part of the department as to its proper position with regard to the Yukon. And I think that, considering that my hon. friend the Minister of Interior (Mr. Sifton) is a lawyer, this ignorance is inexcusable. You will remember, Mr. Speaker, that last session, and I think also in 1897, I called the attention of the Minister of the Interior to the rival jurisdictions that might possibly arise in the Yukon, and I think I

suggested that the Minister should at once inform himself of his exact position and the exact rights in the Dominion Government in that Yukon territory, and indicated what was my own strong opinion that it was the local government in the territories that had jurisdiction there. Well, what do we find? We find that the department here began to exercise the functions of the local territorial government, and not only that, but Mr. Smart actually telegraphed to Mr. Justice Richardson not to receive any recommendation for permits from the local government in the territory. The consequence was that a correspondence, which I hope to move for in order that we may have the opportunity of reading it, took place, and the hon. Minister of Interior made a statement, which I do not think we can congratulate him upon as a lawyer, because if any man were ever hopelessly snubbed upon he was in that correspondence, the upshot of which was he had to yield completely to the contentions made by the Attorney General for the Territories. While Mr. Bulyea was on his way up he met Major Walsh, who was then the Commissioner of the Yukon. They met by appointment, and Mr. Bulyea showed Major Walsh the Order in Council under which he held his appointment, and his authority, under which the regulations were passed which he was instructed to enforce. The first officer of the Minister of the Interior there, Major Walsh, scouted the idea of his appointment, and held that the appointment and regulations did not amount to anything. Mr. Bulyea then showed him the North-west Territories Act, under which the Lieutenant-Governor of the Territories has the sole right to issue permits and to regulate all matters in connection with the liquor traffic, and pointed out to him that the Act of the Parliament of Canada under which his appointment was made could not be superseded by an Order in Council or instructions from the Ottawa Government. Mr. Bulyea went to the Yukon and got to Dawson. The first sign of coming trouble was the receipt by Mr. Constantine, the inspector of mounted police out there, of a letter from Major Walsh. When, as a result, the former resigned from the Board, he gave Mr. Bulyea by request a copy of the letter. Mr. Bulyea read it to the House. Major Walsh wrote cautioning Mr. Constantine against recognizing the man sent out by the North-west Territories Government to issue wholesale liquor permits and regulate the tariff; that Mr. Bulyea seemed to be a first rate fellow but had no business to be there. Mr. Bulyea pointed out that such a letter from his superior officer placed Mr. Constantine in a difficult position.

Next day they met again, and the major seemed in very bad humour. Major Walsh said, he was surprised that, after what he had told Mr. Bulyea, the latter should have interfered with the liquor business. Bulyea replied, that he was acting strictly

by authority and under express instructions from the lawful authorities. The major got angry, and, as it was Sunday, and a crowd commenced to gather, Bulyea moved away. Walsh informed him that he (Bulyea) had no jurisdiction, that he (Walsh) would see all the parties and tell them that anybody had a right to engage in the retail liquor business, regardless of Bulyea, and that Bulyea had no machinery for enforcing regulations.

Then, later on in this report, we are told how the major gave licenses to whom he pleased, and refused licenses to whom he pleased, and the result was, that, after a short time, he introduced such confusion into Dawson that Dawson was back again to the old system of no restriction whatever. You ask: Why, then, did not Mr. Bulyea enforce the law? He tried to enforce it. But Wade was the only lawyer, and Wade would not act for him, and when another lawyer came, he was afraid of Wade, and would not take instructions, while the magistrates were afraid of Walsh. So here was the proper representative of the only legal authority in these matters, namely, Mr. Bulyea, let and hindered by the officers of the Department of the Interior, the magistrates afraid of the Attorney General to act, and the whole process of law hindered and hampered by a Dominion official. Mr. Speaker, this same kind of bungling still goes on: similar incapacity, illustrated by what I have read to the House, is still rampant there. I think I have substantiated, so far, at all events, as the Department of the Interior is concerned what I said last session, or a couple of sessions ago—a remark which created so much perturbation in the mind of the Minister of the Interior—that this Administration has not the instinct of government.

Now, I will come back to this map. When I was exposing the colossal blunder of having, in a map issued by the Department of the Interior, the Yukon boundary shown as contended for by the Americans, the Minister of Public Works (Mr. Tarte) asked to see the map. The map was sent over to him, and what does he point out, as though it was a cause of triumph. He points out a note here at the end: "The question of the boundary between Canada and Alaska is undecided. The boundary line is shown on the map as claimed by the United States." But anybody who looks at the printing of that note, will see that it is in a different type from the line immediately above it. It is plain, the printing of this was an afterthought. The colossal blunder had been committed of having this map, "Issued by the authority of the Hon. Clifford Sifton," printed and published in Chicago, and, when it was pointed out by the critics that the printers in Chicago had put in the boundary as contended for by the United States, evidently these maps were sent out to a printer in Ottawa, and on the whole two hundred thousand this note was

printed. What is the meaning of this system of giving work away from our own people, sending to the United States to have our maps for the Department of the Interior? When you pass the building where our currency is issued, you will see the sign, and what is it? Is it "Canadian Bank Note Company"? No, it is "American"—it is an American institution. I confess to you, Mr. Speaker, that I do not understand this system of going outside of our country to have work done, when we have men in the country perfectly competent to do it. But when such a blunder has been committed as in this case, I do not understand the action of the Minister of the Crown who will have a little note of that kind printed, instead of frankly acknowledging that he had committed a blunder and withdrawing the evidence of that blunder from the public sight.

The Minister of Trade and Commerce (Sir Richard Cartwright), in his speech, did not recall the Cartwright of this side of the House. We all remember what a lion of the Tribe of Judah the Minister of Trade and Commerce was, when he was on this side, free and unshackled, preaching the Liberal doctrines dear to George Brown and Alexander Mackenzie. He was the strong fighting man of the Liberal party. But now he has gone over there, and he, the denouncer of nepotism, he the denouncer of "robbers great and robbers small," among the manufacturers—there he is, toiling, like the blind Samson in the mill of the Philistines, with one son in one department and another son in another department, Cartwright after Cartwright feeding at the public crib, his independence gone completely. Somebody has sent me a list of the hon. gentleman's relatives in Government employ. I had no idea that the number was so great. Why, he is a more nepotized Minister "than has been." Here is the list:

1. Minister of Trade and Commerce (Sir Richard Cartwright), \$8,000 a year.
2. Rev. C. Cartwright (brother), chaplain of the Kingston Penitentiary.
3. Robert Cartwright (son), Assistant Attorney General.
4. Frank Cartwright (son), inspector North-west Mounted Police.
5. Harry Cartwright (son), Ontario civil service.
6. Jas. Cartwright (cousin), position in Osgoode Hall.
7. John Cartwright (cousin), Deputy Attorney General, Toronto.
8. M. O'Hara (second cousin), private secretary and with the commission.
9. Straubenzie Cartwright (second cousin), appointed to Military School before qualified.
10. Mr. O'Hara (married to cousin), Master in Chancery, Chatham, Ont.; Government appointment.

Why, Sir, it is no wonder his independence is buried under such a heap.

Mr. H. A. POWELL (Westmoreland). That is why he cannot sing the old songs.

Mr. DAVIN. That is true. The hon. Minister made a very peculiar point. He smiled

cleagiously at the thought that the Government were able to carry by-elections by improper means. That is the only way of interpreting what he said. He said: You and I Mr. Speaker—he was addressing you, Sir, and I do hope that there was no truth in the implication; I do not believe, Mr. Speaker, that you ever could have known anything about ways that are dark and tricks that are vain in election matters. But he says: You and I, Mr. Speaker, know very well how by-elections are carried. And he seemed to glory in it. What is the fact underlying the recent by-elections? Notwithstanding the sneers cast across this House by my hon. friend the Liberal whp, these elections are full of hope. You must remember that with the exception of Bagot, every one of them except one was a strong Liberal constituency. In West Lambton we gained 400 votes; in West Huron we gained 150 votes. In Simcoe they put up a Liberal against a cousin of the late Dalton McCarthy and they were unable to carry it. With the exception of Bagot, they carried champion Grit constituencies with reduced majorities, notwithstanding the truth underlying the opinion I am going to read to you of the value of by-elections expressed by the Minister of Trade and Commerce himself. This is what he said at a time when the Conservative party was winning by-elections:

Yet, nevertheless, with all those things against them, we find the Government sustained at all points throughout Ontario, and absolutely winning 15 out of 20 by-elections. Sir, the mere statement of those figures is in itself enough. Does any sane human being who knows anything at all of the conditions of political life believe for one moment that this result was obtained by honest means? The thing is an absurdity. Those figures carry condemnation on the very face of them. "As well defend Sodom." As well say that it is possible to cast double sixes eighteen times out of twenty. Sir, it is only possible on one condition, and on one only—that the dice are loaded.

Are the dice loaded now? I am afraid the dice are loaded, and I am afraid, from the course taken by one of the Ministers especially, that the dice are loaded very heavily to-day.

I want to call the attention of the House to the extraordinary course taken by this Government in regard to what is called the school question, bearing out, as it does, the character for duplicity that I contend inheres in this Government. On the 5th of September, 1896, a correspondent of the Brandon "Sun" inquired of the present First Minister as to the truth of a story in the "Mail and Empire" that the Government had sent an emissary to Rome on the Manitoba school question, he replied in these words: "It is one of the 'Mail's' usual canards, there is not a word of truth in it." Well, we know that since that time several emissaries have been sent to the eternal city. We know that Mr. Drolet was sent, we know that Mr. Russell was

sent, that the Solicitor General was sent, and that the Prime Minister went there himself. So it would seem this correspondent did not get much satisfaction, because we know very well that these gentlemen have been sent, and that the right hon. gentleman himself addressed a letter to the Cardinal, who is Secretary of State of the Vatican, on the subject of the Manitoba schools, and we heard in this House that he acknowledged he had written it. I am told that the Minister of Public Works has made statements to the effect that the Catholics of Manitoba have got back all they had been deprived of by the Martin Act, and in "La Patrie" of November, 20th, 1896, it is said:

The French Canadians of Manitoba enjoy more privileges in the schools than before 1890.

Yet more than two years ago we were told by the Prime Minister, immediately after the House met here, that the school question had been settled. So that those who hoped that the settlement that was made was a final one, if what is stated from time to time is true, are deceived; and on the other hand, if it was a final one and if there has been nothing done since, those who are assured that in consequence of this diplomatic action all that was taken away by the Martin Act has been restored—those persons must be deceived.

I want to say a word on a question that interests a large number of my constituents, I refer to the plebiscite. You will remember that the right hon. gentleman, replying to one of the leaders of the Temperance Alliance, stated that he could not act upon the vote which took place upon the plebiscite. I call attention to what the Montreal "Daily Witness," a Liberal paper, says on that head:

Meantime, we protest very strongly against the disingenuous language used by those Liberal papers in deprecating the vote. Their language from one end of the country to the other about the prohibitionists having polled "a very small minority of the registered vote," is a simple impertinence, seeing that outside the province of Quebec, in which the vote was abnormal, prohibition polled five-sixths as many votes as were polled for the straight candidates of the Liberal party in the triumphant general election of the 26th of June, 1895, and that they did this out of a panel of voters one-tenth smaller. The pollable vote is usually considered about 70 per cent of the total vote on the list. At the last general election, the lists being old, only 68 per cent was polled. Outside of Quebec the number of votes on the lists was almost exactly a million, of which the Liberals polled at that election, for straight party candidates, almost exactly 300,000, or 30 per cent of the voters on the list, being 44 per cent of the vote actually polled. The number on the list for the plebiscite vote was as nearly as possible 900,000, of which the prohibitionists polled just about 250,000, or 28 per cent of the whole list, and 40 per cent of the presumable pollable vote. Considering that those who voted for prohibition did so from purely patriotic impulses, without any of the usual personal and partisan incentives to goad them to the polls, and, considering that there is almost no other case on record in which the vote on a mere proposition apart from party or personality has

not been been meagre, it would be nonsense to treat these figures as insignificant or as any other than extraordinary and startling. The only question that remains open is as to what their real significance may be, and whether, in spite of the opposition or indifference of the province of Quebec, they do or do not constitute a mandate to do something.

That states as much of the argument as is necessary for me to place before the House.

I want, Sir, to say one word that will show to you and to the members here to-night how our money is being spent and how the extravagance to which I have referred is being piled up. I am glad that the Minister of Public Works is in his place. I will take three specimen bricks, as it were, of the building, of the—I do not really know what to call it, because if I use the word that comes to my lips I am afraid it would not be parliamentary; so I will leave it unexpressed. The Minister of Public Works has gone into amateur dredging. There is a man in the west named McGillicuddy, and he was kicking hard—very hard, whereupon he was given the contract for dredging Goderich harbour. I do not suppose McGillicuddy ever saw a dredge.

Mr. BERGERON. And without tender.

Mr. DAVIN. I do not think there were any tenders. It would be an interesting spectacle to see McGillicuddy advancing, pen in hand to dredge Goderich harbour. You have a companion picture in Montreal. You have Mr. Gauthier. He never saw a dredge; he has no dredge; he does not know anything about dredging, and he too has a \$20,000 contract for dredging. If we ask the Minister of Public Works, "Is he a relative?" he says, "No," but when we ask him if he is not his son's father-in-law, he says: "How can I help it if my sons have fathers-in-law." Surely the public of Canada are entitled to the difference between what the people pay Gauthier and what the people pay McGillicuddy, and what McGillicuddy and Gauthier pay others to do the dredging. The Minister of Public Works says, when we ask him, "Why do you not give the contract to dredgers?" When we ask the Minister of Public Works, "Why do you not give the contracts to dredgers?" He says: "How can I do that and put money into the pockets of my friends?" He tells us that all the dredges are in the hands of Tory dredgers, and he says that if he were to ask for tenders the contracts might go to Tory dredgers. He turns around and gives a contract to one man who has kicked hard in one case, and in another to a man who happens to be one of his son's father-in-law. I might repeat what I said here before of that deal for that \$30,000 that was got for buying "La Patrie" in connection with the Drummond County deal.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS (Mr. Tarte). There is not one word of truth in that, not one word of truth, and the hon. gentleman knows it.

Mr. DAVIN. The hon. gentleman says there is not a word of truth in that, but my hon. friend swore in court that he did not tell the truth to this House in regard to it. He swore that what he said to this House was not true. How am I to know that what he is telling us now is true?

Mr. SPEAKER. The hon. gentleman must not refuse to accept the statement of the Minister.

Mr. DAVIN. I do not refuse to accept my hon. friend's statement, but, Sir, I do not endorse it.

Mr. WALLACE. I do not think that the Minister of Public Works has a right to interrupt the proceedings of this House.

Mr. SPEAKER. I have given my decision on the point.

Mr. DAVIN. I abide by the decision.

Mr. J. TOLMIE (West Bruce). Mr. Speaker, the hon. member (Mr. Davin) has made an assertion that Mr. McGillicuddy—

Some hon. MEMBERS. Order, order.

Mr. SPEAKER. There can be no personal explanation when the hon. gentleman (Mr. Davin) has the floor unless he chooses to give up the floor.

Mr. DAVIN. I hope the hon. gentleman will deal with Mr. McGillicuddy when I am done, because the more this matter is ventilated the better the people will see how the debt is being piled up and the way that extravagance is going on.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS (Mr. Tarte). I rise to say that the hon. gentleman is altogether mistaken. Mr. McGillicuddy never got any dredging contract from me.

Mr. TAYLOR. He got one for crib and pier work.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS (Mr. Tarte). After public tender.

Mr. TAYLOR. No, without public tender.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS (Mr. Tarte). After public tender.

Mr. TAYLOR. It was never advertised.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS (Mr. Tarte). After public tender, I say it again, and it is true.

Mr. DAVIN. I think I have McGillicuddy's own words here.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS (Mr. Tarte). I do not care what he says, the contract is there. The contract was given after public tender.

Mr. DAVIN. If my hon. friend will not take what McGillicuddy himself says, what are we to say. Of course, there is no contract if he would take what McGillicuddy says.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS (Mr. Tarte). Mr. McGillucuddy never got any contract for dredging, and he never got any contract without public tender. These are the facts.

Mr. SPEAKER. The Minister of Public Works must really ask the permission of the hon. member who has the floor.

Mr. DAVIN. In 1896 I pointed over to the Government, and I said it had the colour of death in its face. A still more dangerous symptom has manifested itself to-day, a moribund symptom has manifested itself, and it is the same symptom that manifested itself two years and a half after the Mackenzie Government came into power. They began to plunder, to get deeper and deeper into the quagmire. The moment that anybody criticised them, instead of being able to refute what their critics said, they got out of temper like the Minister of Public Works and like my right hon. friend the Prime Minister in his speech, which was not up to the mark to which he or any other Prime Minister should attain. He had lost his temper, and the Minister of Trade and Commerce had also lost his temper, and this is a sure sign that the Government is moribund. Now, I will give Dan's own words; I did not intend to take up the time of the House by doing it:—

To the first count—being an office-seeker—we plead guilty. After nearly a quarter of a century's faithful service in the not very remunerative business of making politicians out of "nobodies," or as Kipling says of Sergeant What's-His-Name, in "making men out of mud," Mr. McGillucuddy came to the conclusion that when an office became vacant he had as much right to it as any other man in Huron, and he thinks so still. At the same time, Mr. McLean was of a similar opinion, and was an applicant for the self-same position. The only difference between the two was that McGillucuddy made no application until the office was vacant, whilst Mr. McLean put in his application as soon as the registrar was taken ill, and about a year before the death of the then incumbent. If we mistake not, he was the first on the doorstep, waiting for death to step in and give him a job.

Now, Mr. Speaker, we have heard what my hon. friend has to say about Mr. McGillucuddy. Will he tell us something about Gauthier or about the Edmonton bridge, about that outrage upon the pockets of the people of this country where a contract was made at \$35,000 for solid ashlar masonry? Without new tenders and without anybody else being allowed to tender, and without any modification in price a man is allowed to change a specification from ashlar masonry to concrete, which does not cost half as much.

Sir, if the hon. gentleman will allow me to talk metaphorically, I put the handcuffs on his wrists last year and there is no sublimary power can take them off. I will tell you why. If he will recall what I did, he knows that I took the excuse that was made

for this transaction. The excuse was that the contractor went up to Edmonton, went to the quarry some ten miles from Edmonton, inspected the stone there, then came back and inspected the stone at Calgary, came to Ottawa and then entered the office and told the department there was no stone either at Calgary or Edmonton fit to make piers for a bridge. The cautious department sent Mr. St. Laurent at once to examine whether what this contractor Mr. Lemoine said was true or not. He makes the same trip, and back he comes and confirms what Mr. Lemoine has said. But I took the time table of the Canadian Pacific Railway for that month and I showed that, if the moment Lemoine had got that contract in Montreal—and he got it in Montreal the last day that tenders were to arrive in the office; by some extraordinary means the Minister was down there and so was Mr. Coste, and he got it in Montreal the day the tenders came in. He got it therefore without the Minister seeing the other tenders. I showed that if the moment Lemoine got it he had flown to the station, taken the train, gone right on to Calgary, taken the next train, gone to Edmonton, taken a trap and gone to the quarry, hurried back, got in his train and hurried to Calgary, then by some extraordinary slight of hand inspected all the quarries in Calgary, then got the next train, hurried to Ottawa, and then gone gasping and panting into the Department of Public Works, he could not have done it in the time. One trip could not have been made in the time in which it was said two had been made. And remember we have the dates, because the date I took is the date of the re-arrangement of the contract to enable him to build it of concrete. My hon. friend the Postmaster General is there and he is a lawyer and he knows very well that if any witness told that story in the witness box, when he left the box the judge would say to the sheriff: Sheriff, do not let that witness leave the court; and he would have him up under arrest and prosecuted for perjury. That is the way our money is being spent. It is the way that the debt is being piled up; it is the way extravagance is being carried on. Why, Sir, we know very well there is every indication that the flood gates have been opened, and there is no body to do what Alexander Mackenzie did. You know, Mr. Speaker, because you were intimate with the late Hon. Alex. Mackenzie, and you have read his life—probably you assisted those who wrote that life—but anyway, Sir, you know all about the late Alex. Mackenzie, and you remember that letter he wrote.

Day and night I lie on my arms protecting the treasury—

Against whom?

—against our friends.

But though he lay day and night upon his arms protecting the treasury against "our

friends"; "our friends" were able to—as was proved by commissions—able to put their hands into the treasury. Alas, Sir, there is no one now to lie on his arms to protect the treasury from "our friends"; and the wolves are able to have it their own way. And, Sir, while they were only able to put in their hands in the time of Alex. MacKenzie, they can put the hands now into the treasury right up to the shoulder, and all that is done is, my hon. friend opposite sits and laughs, and thinks he can carry it on and "business is business."

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS (Mr. Tarte). And a scallawag is a scallawag.

Mr. DAVIN (West Assiniboia). From first to last, from the top to the toe, in the whole official machinery of this Liberal Government, there is this same taint of want of sincerity. Why, one of the things I did during the recess was to visit the Saskatchewan, and what did I discover there? I discovered that the present member for Saskatchewan (Mr. Davis) had made a most immoral bargain, an utterly immoral bargain, about the patronage.

Mr. DAVIS. No.

Mr. DAVIN (West Assiniboia). I say I discovered that the present member had made an immoral bargain about the patronage.

Mr. DAVIS. What was the bargain?

Mr. DAVIN. Does my hon. friend (Mr. Davis) deny that he made an immoral bargain?

Mr. DAVIS. Yes, I do.

Mr. DAVIN. Well, I discovered that he made an immoral bargain, and not only that, but he had the insincerity of not being ready to pay what that immoral bargain entailed. Does the hon. gentleman deny?

Mr. DAVIS. State what the bargain is.

Mr. DAVIN. I have the proof here, and if I am challenged I will have to prove what I say.

The POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. Mulock). Perhaps the hon. gentleman (Mr. Davin) will defer that portion of his remarks for a few minutes until the hon. member for Saskatchewan returns. He has been obliged to leave the Chamber for a short while.

Mr. DAVIN. When I was up there he was invited to a meeting and he came to the meeting, and after the meeting was over he went about, and when I was out of the town he said: I could have answered that in a quarter of an hour. So another meeting was held to give him an opportunity, but he did not come there as he got the mumps. Has he got the mumps now again?

The POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. Mulock). If the hon. gentleman (Mr. Davin)

will permit me to say so, the hon. gentleman (Mr. Davis) has just received news of the serious illness of one of his children, and Mrs. Davis is in the gallery and he has gone to take her away.

Mr. DAVIN. Under the circumstances, I won't refer to it of course.

The POSTMASTER GENERAL. I ask the hon. gentleman (Mr. Davin) to postpone it until the hon. gentleman (Mr. Davis) returns.

Mr. DAVIN. I will postpone it altogether under these circumstances.

The POSTMASTER GENERAL. I do not ask that, the hon. member (Mr. Davis) will return in a few moments.

Mr. DAVIN. Well, I have something else to say, Mr. Speaker. In connection with the election something took place at Battleford in which I do not think the hon. gentleman (Mr. Davis) is personally interested, for under the circumstances I do not wish to refer to anything in which he is interested. There was a gentleman named Mercier there who was postmaster and he was dismissed on the affidavits of a man named Skelton and a man named Daumais and others. The trial took place, and Skelton and others were convicted of perjury, and a strong effort was made to influence the Minister of Justice, an effort that I brought before the House last session, because the Minister of Justice had no authority under any Act of Parliament that exists in Canada to have entertained any application in regard to these men, before judgment had been pronounced.

Well, Sir, what has happened? I think I prevented an outrage taking place last session, because I prevented the Department of Justice being guilty of an illegal act, entailing the grave scandal of interfering with the course of justice. Subsequently, these men were sentenced to a term of imprisonment. And now what has happened? No sooner are they sentenced, than word comes from this Government that the perjurers are to be let out. Why, Mr. Speaker, after Connolly and McGreevy had served a considerable time in prison for an alleged offence—a trifle, compared with the grave crime of perjury—it was only after doctors' certificates came to show that their health would be impaired and their lives imperilled if they remained in prison, that they were let out; and we heard no end of talk about that in certain quarters. But here we have men convicted of perjury before one of the ablest and most impartial judges in Canada, Mr. Justice Wetmore, a man who is able to stand up to any lawyer in Canada, and who is the equal of any judge in Canada. There cannot be a more impartial or a more fearless man; and yet the course of justice is interfered with on partisan considerations, and the immoral spectacle is presented to the whole young community of the North-west Terri-

tories of allowing perjurers to go free because the perjury is committed in the interest of party. Why, Sir, it is a great scandal.

Mr. N. C. WALLACE (West York). What did they do with the postmaster? Is he reinstated?

Mr. DAVIN. Oh, no; they dismissed the postmaster on a false charge. There is a point made by my hon. friend from York. Of course, to be logical, they ought to have reinstated the postmaster. They dismissed the postmaster on the oaths of those people.

Now, Sir, up at Bennett there is a Government hospital, supported by the Dominion Government, in which there was a medical officer, named Dr. Diseau. I would like to know whether that gentleman is still in the employment of the Government, because his conduct was such that he ought to have been arrested and prosecuted; yet he is allowed to go free. I am not going into what his conduct was. The enormity of it was such that it would not be proper for me to do so at this time. But I know very well that his conduct was winked at by the department.

Suppose, Mr. Speaker, that in my character as an advocate—and although I do not practice law much now, politics and what not taking me away; I sometimes go into court, and my training has been that of an advocate—suppose that, as an advocate, I were feed to defend this Government and meet the indictment made against it by my hon. friend the leader of the Opposition and my hon. friend the ex-Finance Minister, how could I defend them against the charge that they have been false to all their pledges? Is there any pledge under Heaven to which they have not been false, from the great pledge, that they would uproot the Upas tree of protection, down to the trifle on the part of the Prime Minister, that he would not take a title? I have here his language used at Renfrew, when the Rev. Mr. Huxtable asked him a question in regard to the plebiscite. I will read what he said:

The Rev. Mr. Huxtable. A majority of some 80,000 of the voters in Ontario have decided in prohibition of the liquor traffic. We understand that Sir Wilfrid Laurier has already promised that a plebiscite for the whole Dominion shall be taken in the event of his attaining to power in the coming election. I would like to ask that in the event of that being done, and a majority of the electors voted in favour of prohibition, will Sir Wilfrid Laurier pledge himself to give us a prohibitory liquor law?

Mr. Laurier. I must tell my friend, first of all, that I am not Sir Wilfrid. I am only plain Mr. Laurier. I am a democrat to the hilt.

The Rev. Mr. Huxtable. So am I, sir.

Well, what happened? The shoes that he wore when he made that pledge were not old, the breath that came from his lungs and travelled north, had hardly frozen over the polar sea when he goes across the Atlantic, to London, and he finds there in his bedroom a package.

He looks at it, and he finds that it is his patent of peerage: "Sir Wilfrid Laurier, G.C.M.G." What does he do? All his manhood rises up against the idea of taking it, and he puts it aside. He remembers what he said: "I am a Democrat to the hilt; I will go back like a man, plain Mr. Laurier." And then he thinks, "Sir Wilfrid Laurier, G.C.M.G.!" To have my breast plastered all over with gold! To wear a cocked hat and ostrich feathers as high as a stone wall! Sir Wilfrid Laurier! He feels himself an inch higher. He is fascinated. He is drawn to it; he takes it up, and is about to perform the deed, when whatever manhood lingers in him rises again in protest, and he puts it down and says: "No; I will return to Canada plain Mr. Laurier, a man of the people, a Democrat to the hilt." And then his eye falls on the hypnotizing paper once more and it fascinates him; he is again drawn to it; he takes it up; he determines to consent and the deed is done. He has put his manhood under his heel, and if he could plaster that Windsor uniform from neck to the tip of it with gold, and if the cocked hat were twice as high, and had the ostrich feathers in it of a hundred birds, that manhood which he then trampled under foot, could never come back. He returned to Canada Sir Wilfrid Laurier, but he did not come back with the manhood that he carried away. Sir, that is only a trifle, but it shows what has happened from beginning to end. Why, Sir, he wears the Cobden medal, side by side with his star, on which is written, "Auspicious mellioris avi—the pledge of happier times." He wears the Cobden medal on the other side, on which is the motto, "Faith, truth, peace, and prosperity." Faith, truth! Where are your promises, Sir Wilfrid? Where are your pledges? Faith!—where is your loyalty to the people of Canada, where is your Democrat to the hilt, where is free trade as it is in England? Faith! truth! Why, he is foresworn even to the very Cobden Club, whose medal he wears. He comes back, and he tells a dinner party at Toronto that he was in favour of preferential trade, for strangling which he got that medal. Faith, truth—truth, faith. Pots and kettles and pans—pans and kettles and pots. All the black belongs to that wretched machine which is called the Government of Canada—the true Liberal party is free from it; and I appeal to whatever Liberalism is in Canada to-day, to rescue itself from the thrall of those betrayers of Liberalism. Suppose that, in the days of our fathers, when port wine was a great drink, you were to visit a man famous for his hospitality, who would have thirteen decanters on the sideboard and a little silver label on each, describing what was within as port wine, and he were to say to you: "Will you not have a glass of port wine?" You would reply: "I do not mind if I do." And he pours out a glass of something the colour of port wine from

one of the decanters, but which is not, what would you think of it? If you were to say to him: "That is not port wine," what would be your opinion of him, if he, after you had tried each particular decanter and finding that each contained some other liquid the colour of port wine, he were to point to the label and say: "There is the label; it is indeed port wine"? Do you suppose that the label of Liberalism will make these men Liberals? No, Sir, the leaders of the Liberal party are in power, it is true, but Liberalism and the Liberal party are out of power and are betrayed. Where is the Liberal party to-day, that it does not rise up against its wrongers? I am reminded by its present position of a harrowing circumstance that my hon. and gallant friend from Victoria (Mr. Prior) will be interested in. One of his constituents and admirers is a butcher, and one day, this butcher noticed a ghastly, cadaverous, ghostly, lean and hungry-looking cat, all ribs, the skin of one side clinging to the other, hardly able to walk across the shop. This butcher was a sympathetic man, and he said to his assistant: "Give that cat a pound of meat a day until it is fattened up." He then went up to the Atlin country, and when, two months later, he returned, he again saw this ghostly, thin, meagre, skinny cat walk through the shop, and said to his man: "Did I not tell you to give that cat a pound of meat a day?" The man said: "So I did: he has had a pound of meat within the last three minutes." The butcher seized the cat and put it into one of his scales, and the animal just turned the beam at a pound. "Well," said the butcher, "there is the pound of meat; but where is the cat?" In like manner, I may say: There is the pound of meat; but where is the Liberal party? There are the leaders of the Liberal party in power; but where is the party itself? Where is Liberalism? Ah, Sir! Liberalism is not to be found on those front benches, as was said to me by a gentleman who travelled west with me a few weeks ago, towards Moose Jaw, a leading Liberal, one of the old Liberals, one of the true Liberals, one of those men that Mr. Martin, when addressing the Liberal Association in Winnipeg, appealed to, when he said: Let us go back to the principles of George Brown and Mackenzie; because you know, Mr. Speaker, there is a revolt against the Minister of the Interior (Mr. Sifton) in Edmonton and Regina, where the anti-Siftonites invited my hon. friend from Alberta (Mr. Oliver) and my hon. friend from Liasgar (Mr. Richardson) the other day. I echo what Mr. Martin, the brother of Joe Martin, said in his appeal: Let us go back to the old Liberalism, the Liberalism of George Brown and Mackenzie, and not endure this wretched masquerade of Toryism, saying it is Reform given by the Government, which has thrown off the uniform of Liberalism, and put on the livery of the manufac-

turers. Why, the right hon. gentleman (Sir Wilfrid Laurier), the moment he came into the Privy Council Chamber, went to the wardrobe, and, finding there some of the cast-off clothes of the late Sir John Macdonald, put off his uniform of Liberalism and donned those cast-off garments, and, thinking he looked mighty well in them, said: I am satisfied to wear the clothes of my opponents, if they fit me. But they do not fit him. He has hardly the figure to wear those clothes, and the way these hon. gentlemen have bungled one thing after another where they have tried to touch that tariff, shows that they did not go into it with a single eye to honest government. They have touched nothing that they have not deformed, and after their two and a half years of power—three years nearly now, and into the fourth session—they stand condemned before the Liberal party of Canada and the whole country, and, as may be seen by their faltering accents, when speaking from those benches, condemned by their own consciences. I sometimes ask myself, what is to be the fate of the right hon. gentleman, who is so completely under the influence of that dark spirit which excites so much fear in the minds of respectable Liberals. The only fate I can think of is this, that he will one day or the other leave the Council Chamber in disgust and despair, determined to flee from the spell and hide his political head under a cowl, and shed abundant tears, and offer up penitence and prayers for broken pledges and promises unfulfilled, for having deceived the people of Canada in 1896, and since 1896 betrayed the Liberal party.

Mr. J. G. H. BERGERON (Beauharnois). What about the hon. member for Saskatchewan (Mr. Davis)?

Mr. DAVIN. I was about to deal with him, but will take some other opportunity, as he is not here now.

Mr. BERGERON. He will come in. Let him be produced.

Mr. DAVIN. No; under the circumstances, as he is not here, I shall wait some other opportunity.

The POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. Mulock). My hon. friend from Beauharnois appears to question the accuracy of what I said, and therefore I prefer that the hon. member for West Assiniboia (Mr. Davin) would continue and deal with the subject, if he dares to deal with it.

Mr. DAVIN. No, we can bring up the matter another time.

MONDAY, 27th March, 1899.

QUESTION OF PRIVILEGE.

Mr. NICHOLAS FLOOD DAVIN (West Assiniboia). Mr. Speaker, before the Orders

of the Day are called, I rise to call your attention to what I find in the report of the debate of March 24, 1899. I find that the reporter attributes to the hon. Minister of Public Works (Mr. J. I. Tarte) these words :

And a scallawag is a scallawag.

These words were not, so far as I know, pronounced by the Minister of Public Works (Mr. Tarte). If they were, they were an interruption in my speech ; and, as the suggestion is palpable, I should have dealt with them then. I am told that the Minister of Public Works went down to the "Hansard" reporter and got him to insert these words. Now, I want to ask the Minister of Public Works whether he used these words. If he did, I certainly want them withdrawn.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS (Mr. Tarte). Mr. Speaker, I may say that I used those words. I do not suppose the hon.

gentleman applied them to himself. I hope and trust—I am sure such is the fact—that there is no scallawag in the House. It is a general sentence that I had a right to use, just as the hon. gentleman had a right to use some other general sentences. As to having gone to the reporter, it is true, Sir, I did so. I know something about newspaper work and about reporting ; and, looking at the reporter, I saw that he had not inserted the words that I had used. I may have made a mistake in going to him. I asked him, passing by, whether he had put down my words or not. He said no. I told him : "I want my words to be inserted." If, by so doing, I have committed an offence against the House, I am very, very sorry for it ; and, as we are entering into a week of penance, I am going to submit to any spiritual or corporal punishment which you, Sir, may deem fit to mete out to me.

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